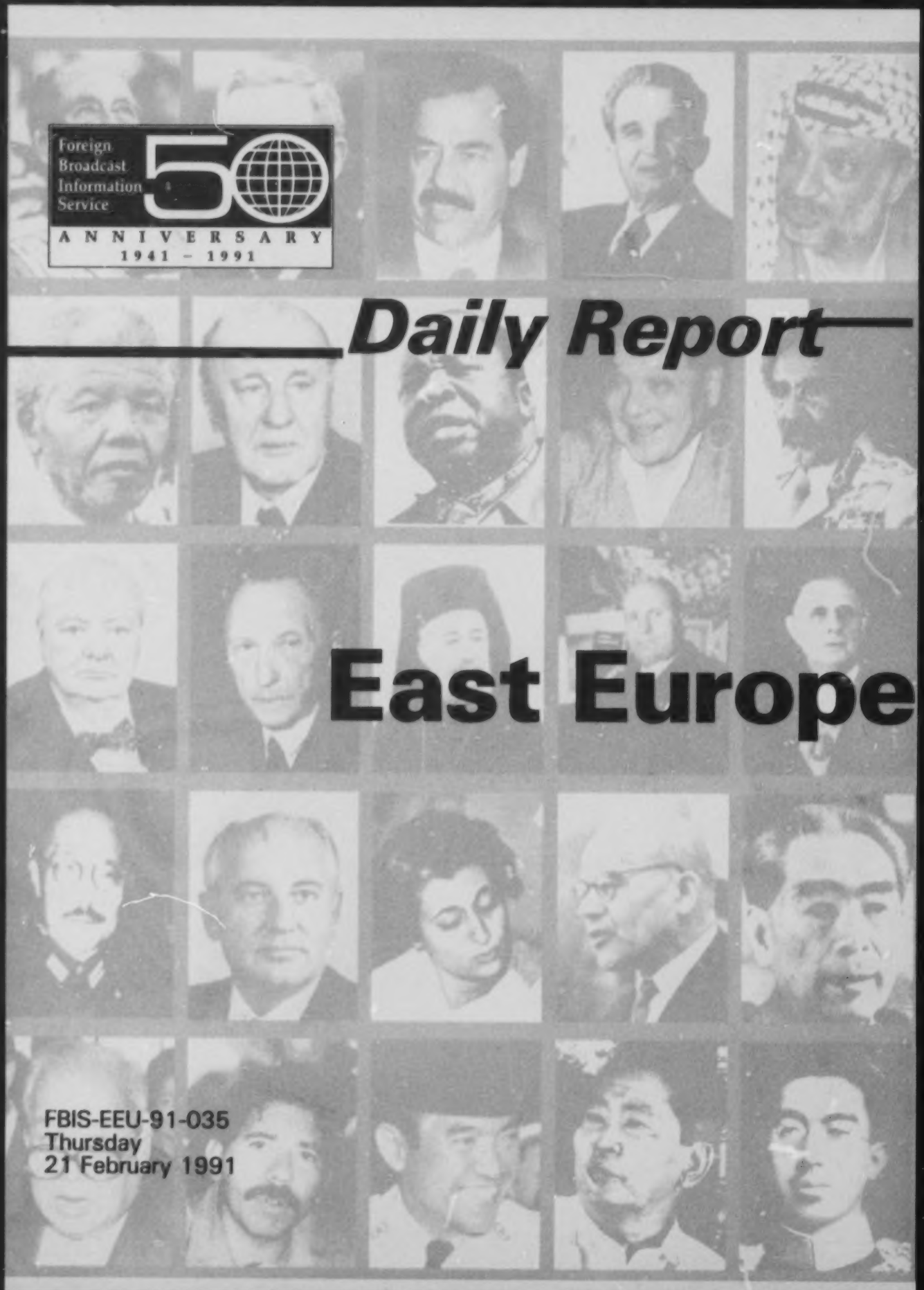

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-035
Thursday
21 February 1991

Daily Report
East Europe

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Havel Opens CSCE Secretariat Meeting

LD2002142991 Prague CTK in English 1408 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 20 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today opened the secretariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) here.

A symbolic key to the secretariat was handed by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier to the secretariat's director Nils Eliasson.

The decision to place the secretariat of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Prague, made by last November's CSCE summit in Paris, is an expression of respect for Czechoslovakia's initiatives in favour of developing the European integration process.

It was above all President Vaclav Havel who became an advocate of a new concept of Europe's future. He formulated his ideas on an international scale for the first time during his official visit to the USA in February 1990. When addressing Congress he proposed to turn the Helsinki II summit, planned for 1992, into a peace conference. When visiting Britain in March he suggested the dismantling of NATO and the Warsaw pact as the first step towards a future peaceful Europe.

However, the speed of the process of Germany's unification and the changes within the former Soviet bloc made Czechoslovakia change these proposals to suit this reality. Upon Havel's proposal, the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee session in Moscow in June called for a radical change of this grouping. Czechoslovakia's call for dismantling the Warsaw pact military structure became decisive, and thus the consent voiced by Mikhail Gorbachev in a letter to President Havel on February 11 was a success of the Czechoslovak concept. The Warsaw Pact is expected to decide the abolition of its military structure at its session in Budapest next week, to be valid as of April 1, i.e. three months earlier than Czechoslovakia proposed.

Czechoslovakia believes that new circumstances offer favourable conditions for building a new all-European security system, to which the CSCE secretariat is expected to contribute. NATO is to become the plaform of a future united security system when the Warsaw Pact disintegrates, according to Havel's recent statement.

'Euromil' Meeting To Elect New Leadership

LD2002225191 Prague CTK in English 1521 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 20 (CTK)—The European Organization of Military Unions "Euromil" started a three-day session here today. Its participants will elect a new leadership of the organization, discuss its economic issues and admit the union of professional soldiers of the Czechoslovak Army as its member.

"Euromil" sessions take place every three years. Czechoslovakia is the first country of the former socialist bloc where it is being held and the union of professional soldiers is the first organization of its kind to become its member.

The union of professional soldiers of the Czechoslovak Army with its 17,000 members is the biggest of the six interest unions in the Czechoslovak Army which has at present about 160,000 soldiers. The union of professional soldiers is a non-political, independent and voluntary social organization which is active on the whole territory of Czechoslovakia. Its aim is to push through and defend social, legal, economic, working, cultural and other interests of soldiers.

"Euromil" was founded in 1972 as a European organization of military professional unions aimed at defending social and professional interests of soldiers. The first contacts with the Czechoslovak army perofessional union were established in may 1990. "Euromil" representatives visited Czechoslovakia in January 1991 for the first time.

The current "Euromil" session is being held under the auspices of Federal Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky. President Vaclav Havel has been invited to take part.

University Students' Strike Continues in Tirana

Army Surrounds Government Buildings

AU2002203291

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1900 GMT on 20 February carries seven minutes of reports on the students' hunger strike and demonstrations in Tirana on 20 February.

After a largely indistinct report on demonstrations in the morning, several students engaged in the hunger strike are interviewed. The reporter then says: "The national theater actress [name indistinct] called on women to demonstrate in front of the radio and television building and the Presidium of the People's Assembly building in support of the students. In front of the Presidium, they were received by Presidium Secretary Sihat Tozaj and Presidium Secretaries Lumturi Rexha and Eleni Selenica. The women refused to speak to them and demanded a meeting with President Ramiz Alia. Permission was given for only three of them to be admitted to the Presidium building, but the demonstrating women did not accept this.

"Several thousand working people who were at the campus moved to the city center. In the street next to the radio and television building, the crowd was stopped by security forces, which used rubber truncheons, tear gas, water cannons, and fired into the air. The demonstrators attacked them with stones and bricks, and then went to the central square via side streets. No one was injured on either side. In Skenderbeg Square, besides these demonstrators, thousands of other inhabitants arrived. They turned to Enver Hoxha's monument in a bid to bring it down. The police forces with shields and rubber bullets tried to stop them, and there were clashes. Still, the police failed to stop them. The demonstrators rushed straight to the monument, climbed onto it, tied a rope round it, and brought it to the ground.

"Many protesters returned to the striking students at the campus to demonstrate with them, taking along the head from the monument. There was no material damage or vandalism, and there were no calls for blood. The seats of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee, the government, and the Presidium of the People's Assembly are surrounded by Army forces with tanks and other vehicles."

Hoxha Statue Toppled

AU2002210291 Paris AFP in English 2007 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 20 (AFP)—Joyful demonstrators toppled the symbol of Albanian communism Wednesday—a 10-metre (30 foot) statue of Enver Hoxha, the country's hardline ruler for 40 years.

The statue in Tirana's main square—the last totem of Stalinism in Eastern Europe—was brought down to the cheers of 100,000 demonstrators, an Albanian journalist reported by telephone. Police fired blanks in clashes with the crowd as the demonstration turned into an impromptu carnival, the journalist said. Unconfirmed reports spoke of some injuries, but no deaths.

Demonstrators loaded the statue on to the back of a a lorry and delivered it to the campus of Tirana's Enver Hoxha University, where students were in festive mood. They broke the statue up into small pieces and handed them out to the crowd as mementoes. The head was cut off, placed back on the lorry and paraded through the city.

"The situation on the square is unimaginable," the journalist said. "The crowd is going wild with joy." Albanian television later described the removal of the statue as "vandalism." The demonstrators first threw stones at the statue, then threw ropes around it and pulled it to the ground.

Mr. Hoxha headed a harshly repressive and largely isolated regime from 1945 until his death in 1985.

The police were said to be disconcerted Wednesday rather than aggressive, and "not very keen on defending the regime." The situation was tense for much of the day in Albanian capital, where eyewitnesses reported numerous army and police patrols in the streets and tightened security around the main official buildings.

In late afteroon many of the demonstrators left Skender Beg Square and joined the students on their campus, journalists said. However several thousand remained in the square to celebrate. Speakers took turns to stand on the plinth of the statue to make speeches to the crowd.

Tens of thousands of people took an evening stroll through the streets in a mixture of elation and anxiety. "No one understands the government's attitude, the way they went on television to talk about vandalism," a journalist told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone.

Tanks barred the entry to streets where government buildings were located, but the soldiers were not in aggressive mood, the journalist said. People were waiting for a statement from President Ramiz Alia. Many Albanians were flocking to Tirana by bus, train or car from the provinces, the journalist added.

Around 50,000 people were at the Enver Hoxha University campus to support the students, who have been on strike since February 6 to have the university's name changed. More than 700 of them have been on hunger strike since Monday. The students' strike was supported by several thousands of workers in Tirana who downed tools at the bidding of the country's first independent union, authorised at the beginning of the week. The students are also calling for the resignation of ministers and officials who in their view are "hindering the process of democratisation" in Albania.

The feeling in Tirana was that the authorities were likely to issue a decree shortly officially ending the cult of the

personality of Enver Hoxha, the journalist said. Opposition figures were apparently afraid the government might adopt emergency measures following a warning late Tuesday by the Communist Party's central committee of a "risk of anarchy."

Radio Tirana reported tanks stationed outside the television station and on one of the main boulevards.

Council of Ministers Communique

AU2002183091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Communique issued by the Council of Ministers; place and date not given]

[Text] On 19 February 1991, the Independent Miners Union called on the workers of the capital city and the entire country to put down their tools and to express solidarity with the students who have declared a hunger strike. This morning, hundreds of workers left work and went to the student campus. There, speakers from the Democratic Party [PDSh], the Independent Trade Union, and student representatives organized rallies at which calls for acts of violence were issued. A crowd of tens of thousands then forced its way through the center of Tirana, striking the forces of order with stones and other objects. They had placed women and children in front of themselves. Despite the response of the forces of order with rubber truncheons, the crowd reached Skenderbeg Square, where Enver Hoxha's monument was brought down and treated in a vandalist way. Several thousand citizens also committed the same act with the bust of Enver Hoxha at the port of Durres. The crowds in both Tirana and Durres shouted harsh slogans, such as: We want blood, etc. We have heard, meanwhile, that representatives of the PDSh branch have issued calls to bring down Enver Hoxha's monument in this city. As we did yesterday, we call on the masses of the people to dissociate themselves from such acts of (?hooliganism) and prevent similar vandal acts.

[Signed] The Council of Ministers.

PDSh Issues Statement

AU2002220491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Statement by the Managing Commission of the Democratic Party; place and date not given]

[Text] The Managing Commission of the Democratic Party [PDSh] discussed the events in Tirana today, in which large masses of citizens, mainly workers and young people, gathered in Skenderbeg Square and, breaking the resistance of the police forces, toppled the statue of Enver Hoxha.

On this occasion, the Commission of the PDSh issues this statement:

The events in Skenderbeg Square are connected with the hunger strike of Tirana university students and teachers, who have been anxiously waiting for three days for their just demands for the removal of the name of Enver Hoxha from the university to be met. All the working people and school children of the city gathered in Democracy Square this morning to express their solidarity with the striking students. Prompted by the very serious situation and disappointed by the unyielding attitude of the government, which, after a great deal of delay, produced an alternative that the students did not accept, the crowd of the people vented their discontent [words indistinct] the statue of Enver Hoxha, which [words indistinct] and a dictatorial regime in Albania.

The Managing Commission thinks this act would have been avoided, if the government had replied positively to the students. Seeing as how the tense situation is not calming down and could even become a pretext [words indistinct] for bloodshed and a state of emergency, the Managing Commission calls on Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, to meet the students' demands as soon possible, so they may abandon their serious hunger strike that the people strongly support.

The PDSh Managing Commission calls on the people of the capital city, all the Albanian people, and its members and sympathizers, to keep calm, to keep cool heads, to avoid all provocation to violence and bloodshed, to dissociate themselves from all calls for blood, to return to their work and daily lives, and to go to the 31 March elections in peace and stability.

The Managing Commission also states that uncontrolled behavior poses a serious danger to genuine pluralist democracy. It therefore [words indistinct] supports the idea that President Ramiz Alia should form a presidential council and a new government (?until the elections), because the present government has totally lost the trust of the masses.

The Managing Commission, reemphasizing the government's total responsibility for the situation, determinedly rejects the accusations that this government leveled against the PDSh today, alleging that it has issued calls for bloodshed and violence. [Passage indistinct] As we have been informed by telephone from Korce, the branch of the PDSh in this district was holding a meeting when it heard Radio Tirana's news about the events in this town and the overthrow of the statue of Enver Hoxha. [Words indistinct] Any calls for bloodshed raised by extremists in the name of the PDSh are provocations attempting to undermine the reputation of this party that always has and always will act with peaceful methods, dissociating itself from violence.

Hoxha's Name Removed From Tirana University

AU2002191691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Decree from the Council of Ministers; place and date not given]

[Text] Because Tirana University will be reorganized, it will no longer carry Enver Hoxha's name. This decree comes into effect immediately.

[Signed] Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

University Renamed; Hunger Strike Ends

AU2102101091 Tirana ATA in English 0913 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Tirana, February 21 (ATA)—723 students and pedagogues of the "Enver Hoxha" University of Tirana and other high institutes continued on February 20 the hunger strike in support of their known demands.

At 02.00 hrs the minister of education, Skender Gjinushi, went to the student strikers to forward an alternative. The government offered them a proposal to dissolve the university and the creation of the university No.1,2.3 and 4.

Representatives of the Democratic Party, the Forum for the Defence of the Human Rights and the Union of Independent Trade Unions met with the striking students.

At 11.00 a press conference was organized in one of the halls of the "Studenti" Palace of Culture in the "Studenti" campus. Attending were reporters of the press organs, the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, radiotelevision, etc. It made publicly known that the striking students did not accept the alternative forwarded by the minister of education.

Thousands of working people of the capital, inhabitants of the city quarters, family members and relatives of the striking students, as well as people from other districts gathered in a rally in front of the "Studenti" Palace of Culture listened to various speakers. Despite the efforts of the forces of order to halt the demonstrators, they headed for the "Skanderbeg" Square, where they tore down the monument of Enver Hoxha.

On February 20, at 19.45 the minister of education, Skender Gjinushi, the minister of constructions, Ismail Ahmeti, and the secretary general of the Council of Ministers, Aleks Luarasi, went to the striking students.

Comrade Skender Gjinushi communicated to them the decision of the Council of Ministers that due to its reorganisation the Tirana University will not bear the name "Enver Hoxha".

The striking students welcomed this decision terminating the hunger strike immediately.

Tirana Still 'Under Heavy Guard' After Protests

AU2102110491 Paris AFP in English 1052 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 21 (AFP)—Albanians, still reeling from a mass protest Wednesday that tore down a central statue of the late communist leader Enver Hoxha, started removing his pictures and busts at several workplaces Thursday, an Albanian journalist said. The source, contacted by telephone, said everyone was "shocked, stupified" by Wednesday's events in Tirana in which 100,000 protestors cheered as students toppled the statue of the powerful figurehead who personified Albanian communism. The journalists said that employees at several firms in the capital quietly took down images of Enver Hoxha at their workplace.

Tirana remained under heavy guard Thursday though no new incidents were reported. [passage omitted] The source said calm had also returned Thursday to the cities of Durres, 40 kilometers (25 miles) west of the capital, and Korce, to the southeast He said demonstrators there had staged their own protests and knocked down statues of Enver Hoxha when word spread of the events in Tirana.

Two Injured in Protest; General Strike Continues

LD2102120791 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] There has been a volley of fire at the demonstrating students in Tirana. (Edward Roza) reports from the scene.

[(Roza)] [Words indistinct] my reporter has just come through: Two men have been injured, one with shots to the head. The government denied that there were any dead, but because it was a head shot the results of the shootings were visible. Later the crowd broke through the police and military cordons and reached the main square. They succeeded in knocking down the statue as they approached the city center, and the protesting students took it to the university city.

The general strike is still on. This morning the city presented a picture of a dead city. The government buildings are surrounded by tanks, and fully armed soldiers are guarding the central buildings and international hotels.

Alia Takes Over Direction of Matters of State

AU2002200191 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, on 20 February; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Citizens of Tirana, brothers and sisters in all Albania, the capital city today experienced one of its most dramatic and serious days in its history. A crowd of

dissatisfied people, taking leave of all sense of reason and logic, committed acts of vandalism. They succeeded in toppling the monument dedicated to Enver Hoxha, the founder of our state. It has now emerged with total clarity that antidemocratic forces have a precise strategy. They want to destroy Albania. They want to trample underfoot everything we have built. They are even ready to desecrate the graves of their ancestors. This is clear.

These forces incite and urge people in pursuit of political interests. Their aim is to estrange the masses from the power of the people, a cynical game played with the feelings of the people. The shocking situation that the people of the capital city experienced today was repeated in some other cities. In whose interests is it for Albania to be destabilized? In whose interests is confrontation now, on the threshold of the elections? In whose interests is it to add an exceptional situation of public order to an exceptional situation in the economy? What forces wish to hear gunshots in Tirana? We have suffered a severe blow from the conflicts which took place today. How can democracy be achieved by violence and savage instincts?

Brothers and sisters, the country is reaching a critical point. Efforts of all kinds are being made to divide the people and to destroy their conscience. National freedom, independence, and sovereignty have been imperiled. I call on everyone to take their destiny into their own hands. Today is the day to show who is a patriot who loves Albania in his heart, who suffers in toil and sheds sweat, and who really loves democracy. There are certainly forces who would lead us to catastrophe. No Albanian is superfluous in these territories. No one must allow himself to become a tool in any game or political manipulation.

In the situation that has been created, I have decided to assume the direction of matters of state myself, to establish as calmly and justly as possible the organization of presidential council and a new government. To lay down the necessary measures and urgent action that must be taken, I call for the necessary calm from everybody, including all parties and sociopolitical organizations.

For my part, and on the part of the friends who will commit themselves to this task, there will be no lack of thorough efforts, will, and determination to find the most appropriate solutions to overcome the exceptional situation that has been created.

Government Spokesman on Trade Union Strike Call

AU1902220791 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 19 Feb 91

[Text] A government spokesman, being made aware of the declaration of the Initiating Commission of the Independent Trade Union, states:

On the basis of the decree on the right to strike approved by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, strikes have recently been permitted only for the purposes of improving working and living conditions, for the protection of jobs, over wage problems, etc., and over problems connected to relations between the trade union and employers. At the same time, under this decree, a strike commission must give an employer at least 15 days advance notice, defining a strike's specific demands.

The announcement of a strike by the Initiating Commission of the Independent Trade Unions falls into flagrant contradiction with the dispositions of this decree. In accordance with Article 10 of the decree in question, it cannot be allowed. I remind [word indistinct], the spokesman stressed that a consensus also exists among the main political parties to refrain from strike activities until 1 May 1991.

Party Representatives Hold Radio Discussion

AU2002184991

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1930 GMT on 19 February carries a 90-minute discussion among representatives of four political parties.

The announcer states: "Representatives of four political parties were invited to the radio and television studio today to present their views on the main events of the day."

Television moderator (?Amalli Zana) then introduces Republican Party [PRSh] representative Sabri Godo; Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] representative Robert Koli; Democratic Party [PDSh] representative Gramoz Pashko; and Ecology Party representative Namik Hoti, who discuss "around the television's round table.

Sabri Godo speaks about the severe economic situation, and says: "the new economic mechanism has failed." and that "the government is in no position to keep its promises, and the situation is deteriorating." Godo advocates "obtaining food and medicines from Europe and the U.S. at low prices and on long-term credit."

Robert Koli also speaks about the "severe situation," that is "a result of various poorly thought out measures and mistakes for which the PPSh also bears responsibility." He calls on "all political parties to cooperate to make the work force aware and turn people back to their work." He advocates "a gradual transition of the economy from the present mechanism to a market economy."

Gramoz Pashko states: "Comrade Robert says that the AWP also bears responsibility for the situation that has arisen. Who else but the PPSh is responsible? It has been the leading party in the country's political and economic life." "The crisis has developed over a period of time, and was predicted." "It is a fact that the press statements issued by state services and services of the ruling party in the atmosphere of insecurity prevailing in our country have exacerbated the situation by claiming that the

situation will be solved in the first quarter of this year and will be put in order by 15 February, and by announcing the arrival of many foreign businessmen in our country, many of whom lacked the proper credibility, who were to invest in Albania and bring so many millions of dollars." "This is not an accidental crisis but a crisis of the system. To solve it, we must transform the system, not reform it."

Namik Hoti, agreeing with assessments of the seriousness of the economic situation, speaks about the need "to support the government until the elections are held."

The moderator then asks the party representatives to speak about "the tense political situation in advance of the 31 March elections."

Sabri Godo identifies the main points of tension as "the elections, the students, and what are called dark forces, which remain somewhat undefined." Godo speaks about his "worries" in connection with the elections: "The PPSh is privileged in having a large apparatus at its disposal. It has its press and cadres throughout the country, its daily newspaper, 26 local newspapers, and a party organization in every village and every workplace." He advocates "proportional representation, in which the voters would vote for parties and their programs and not for individuals. We in the PRSh formed our party six weeks ago." He also urges "the depoliticization of the state services, the forces of order, the judiciary, and the Armed Forces."

Robert Koli also expresses his concern over "the unquiet situation in the country." He says that "before we are members of one party or another, we are people of this country. We are Albanians. We must first try not to exacerbate tensions but to develop the economy and further emancipate our society." Answering Godo's claims of the PPSh's "advantages," Koli states that "the PPSh was created 50 years ago, and has created organizations during this time that were not designed to serve current processes." He claims that "the other parties also have advantages," and that "people are now aware other parties exist."

Gramoz Pashko says that "there is a lot of talk about the problem of national unity that all political parties undoubtedly desire. Until yesterday, however, there was talk about another kind of unity, socialist unity under the banner of a specific ideology." He protests that a PDSh meeting in Skrapar was subjected to a "counterrally," and that "there were provocations when the students started their strike." "It is well known that counterrallies are organized by the ruling party." Speaking of the PPSh's continued presence in the Armed Forces and the security services, Pashko states: "Under such conditions, when the entire political life is organized in such a one-sided and distorted way, it is impossible to talk about a peaceful election campaign."

Namik Hoti states that the Ecology Party "is against rallies. We deplore them wherever they happen. In connection with those bodies mentioned by Gramoz Pashko, I would say that they are above all services of a law-governed state, and have dissociated themselves both from both the PPSh and other parties, regardless of the people leading these organizations." Gramoz Pashko, challenging Hoti, says: "Do you think the PPSh should abandon the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat?" Hoti replies: "It did so, when pluralism was announced."

Speakers are then asked to comment on "the problem of dark forces that seek destabilization."

Sabri Godo states: "We are for order and against all forms of violence." He states: "The forces of order must show more care. We were informed yesterday on the television and in the press about false rumors of ships said to have come to take people to the paradise of South Africa. If this had been done earlier, what happened in Durres could have been prevented. In general, there should be more trust in the people. The people do not want murderers, vagabonds, and criminals. Every citizen would be ready to give help within his abilities to isolate such people.... We consider these heavy police patrols in Tirana and some other cities quite unnecessary because they create the impression of a state of emergency, if not a siege."

Robert Koli states: "It is a fact that there are some forces that do not care for the processes taking place in our country, or rather do not understand them. This was shown by the events in Shkoder, Elbasan, and recently in Kavaje, but especially in Durres." "I agree with some of what Sabri [Godo] said, that the forces of order must be more considerate and measured toward such events; they should act faster and also give real warnings about what has happened and will happen."

Gramoz Pashko says that "the situation we are living through seems to be fraught with a kind of psychological tension that is more artificially created than genuine." "What are these dark forces? Dark forces lie behind the embassy events, the events of December, and are growing—but the justice services never detect and identify them to genuinely convince the masses of the people that dark forces genuinely exist.... This creates a psychology that will in the end really justify the action of dark forces."

Namik Hoti asserts that "dark forces really exist."

Speakers are then asked to state their parties' views on the student hunger strike.

Sabri Godo states that "the students' movement is a noble movement of the nation's most lively elements. We support it." On the hunger strike, he states, "I would like to use this opportunity to call on the government and President Alia personally to solve this problem as soon as possible."

Robert Koli says that "the students' hunger strike is a very serious thing, serious and painful for the students and their parents." Koli supports the students' economic

demands and their calls for changes in the teaching curriculum. He also states: "Their political demands should be solved in dialogue with the appropriate authorities." He goes on to say: "Democracy demands tolerance as well as dialogue," and expresses the view that university teachers should have done more to bring back the students to their classes.

Gramoz Pashko speaks of "the suffering of the students at the moment when we are speaking," and says that "the government should consider this problem with more prudence, and not with a hard line."

Namik Hoti states that the students' problems must be solved by "a future multiparty legislature," and that "the students must not violate the principles of our law-governed state. They are a minority, not the nation."

PDSh Meets, Elects Managing Commission

AU1502214691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Feb 91

[Text] The Democratic Party [PDSh] organized a news conference today on the premises of the Palace of Culture in the capital with journalists from newspapers, ATA, the radio, television, and foreign journalists. [Passage indistinct] After the party's electoral program, problems of the electoral campaign, and the current political situation was debated and discussed, it was stressed that the PDSh is in favor of political and economic stability. It dissociates itself from acts of violence of whatever kind. It was also reported at the news conference that 19 members of the Managing Commission of the PDSh have been elected by secret ballot, who have assumed the possibility of running the party until its national conference, to be held in June. Dr. Sali Berisha was elected chairman of the Managing Commission, and Eduard Selami, candidate of sciences, was elected this commission's secretary. The members of the Managing Commission then answered journalists' questions in connection with some points of the party's program, the student movement, reports in the press, the PDSh's stand on strikes and demonstrations, etc.

Human Rights Forum Statement on Durres Unrest

AU1502211491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Feb 91

[Text] The Forum for the Defense of Human Rights has distributed a statement expressing its concern at the events of 9 February in the city of Durres, which ended in clashes between a large number of people who had gathered from different districts of the country and the forces of public order, with serious and bitter consequences for both sides.

Conscious of the serious consequences such events could entail for the country's whole life, the statement continues, a group of the Forum's members went to Durres, where they made direct various contacts with the forces of public order as well as with individuals and witnesses of the events.

The scenario, the statement continues, was almost identical with that of the well-known conflicts that took place in various towns in December; however, they were unfortunately on a larger scale and more widespread. Acts of vandalism were committed, and large-scale material damage was caused by irresponsible elements. The Forum deplores such behavior and expresses sympathy and solidarity with all those who suffered damage. At the scene of the events, the members of the Forum often heard the view that the situation that was created was nothing but one of confrontation. It was clear that the forces of order were faced with the need to prevent a mass surge by force of hundreds of thousands people into the port; however, the forces of order did not show the necessary restraint. They exceeded the limits of legal countermeasures, and struck indiscriminately at innocent people who were totally uninvolved in the events. They failed to appreciate that the serious economic situation has led people to acts of desperation, and measures have still not be taken to warn the public of the danger of such provocations. On this occasion too, inexcusable delay was been observed before the competent services took preventive measures.

The Forum expresses the view that it is the duty not only of the authorities but of all political forces to oppose such destructive forces, and to disseminate among all social strata persuasive arguments to show that this is no way to solve problems, and that it is first of all the task of everybody to ensure at all costs the normal conduct of the electoral campaign, the statement concludes.

Democratic Front Appeals for 'Wisdom','Maturity'

AU1702151691 Tirana ATA in English 0901 GMT 17 Feb 91

[Text] Tirana, February 17 (ATA)—The Presidency of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania (DFA) considers the country's political and economic situation as very difficult, the statement of the Presidency of the General Council of the DFA says among other things.

The Presidency of the General Council of the Democratic Front calls on the whole people, at these difficult and decisive moments for the country's destiny, to display once again their best virtues. Now, more than ever wisdom and maturity are needed to cope with the events with dignity, democratic culture and education. With full consciousness every honest and patriotic man, despite his belonging to the party or organisation, should dissociate himself from the destructive actions and the acts of violence and terror.

The Democratic Front is convinced that all the political forces, parties, organisations and associations will display their good will, expressed also in the agreement signed on January 15 this year, that through joint efforts

they will overcome the difficult situation we are in and conduct normally a democratic electoral campaign.

The road we all are seeking is the road of progress, of democracy. Its realization depends on us and is attained intensifying work and production, through more knowledge and culture. Every worker, cooperativist, intellectual, pupil or student should feel and manifest his own responsibility for the progress of the homeland.

All our history, ancient and modern, shows clearly the importance of the national unity, its indispensability at such important moments to find forces and put the interests of Albania, of its development and progress above everything.

Foreign Ministry Creates Emigration Department

AU2002142391 Tirana ATA in English 1009 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Tirana, February 19 (ATA)—The Department of Emigration under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is created recently. Implementing the foreign policy of our state, it will deal with problems of the Albanian emigration in foreign countries. Before too, a special branch has existed in this ministry taking care of the old economic emigrants living in different countries. Actually, when a considerable number of nationals with Albanian passport are settled abroad, the creation of the above department was considered necessary.

In close cooperation with the other institutions within the country and with our diplomatic representations in foreign countries, this department will work so that the Albanians wherever they are feel always the care of their country and in this regard, they be more linked with each other and cooperate for the consolidation of the national unity and the all sided progress of Albania. This department will take care so that according to the legislation of the countries where they are settled and with the international law and rules, the Albanians there find a complete legal defence and support. It will work to facilitate the communication of the Albanians living abroad with Albania, the organization of cultural and artistic activities, exchange of specialists of various fields, schooling in the Albanian language, etc.

Over Half of Agricultural Workers Not Working

AU1902151391 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 12 Feb 91 p 1

[Selim Hoxha article: "The Alarm Sirens in Agriculture Are Sounding"]

[Text] We are involving ourselves so much in politics these days; however, all politics that excludes work is barren and bogus. It leaves you without bread, and indeed, if we add slacking at work to our other difficulties, the situation becomes very difficult everywhere. The alarm sirens are sounding for agriculture. The effects of not very favorable weather conditions are being aggravated by absenteeism. If in industry you can make up tomorrow for the work you do not finish today, in agriculture it becomes too late. The land has to be prepared for sowing, field work for forage crops and wheat must be carried out, and seed has to be sown. More that one-half of working people in agricultural enterprises and cooperatives, however, are not turning up to work, machinery is defective, there is a shortage of chemical fertilizer, etc. What, one wonders, will happen if it goes on like this? To put it bluntly, it will be difficult to feed the people. Agricultural statistics are showing a decline. In the coming months, the prices of agricultural products on the private market will rise many times over. (Townspeople will bear the brunt.) In comparison with the same period last year, there is a shortfall of 500 tonnes of milk, and one-half the number of summer potatoes and one-fifth of the quantity of sunflowers have been sown, etc.

What will the people eat? If the textile combines do not produce, you may be left without clothes, but you will get by if you take care of those you have. What can you do when you are left without food? Will we, one wonders, import tomatoes, potatoes, onions, and other food products? Even if we had plenty of foreign currency, some of these products cannot be bought. It is an amazing fact that there is slackness and anarchy not only in the cooperatives, but in the executive committees of some districts. The Ministry of Agriculture deals more with meetings and analysis than with providing concrete solutions. More than 4 million fewer eggs have been delivered to the market. We see what is happening in the lines every day, while the Ministry of Agriculture finds a "solution" in dismissing four or five specialists and directors in the poultry enterprise and ministry directorates. What are the agricultural sections and the managers of agricultural enterprises waiting for? The fodder supply is being misused, and many cattle are heading straight for the slaughterhouse. Even sheep and goats are suffering harm. It is regrettable, but it must be said that even wheat is being used for grazing and olive trees are being cut down. There is no worse way to behave.

Today, the best democrats are those who work hard, shepherds with their flocks in the mountains, and workers in the wheat fields, not those who never stop shouting. Should we remain like this, with arms akimbo? We cannot expect anything from anyone else. Especially in agriculture, it is up to us to change the situation. Even if there is no industrial fertilizer, let us sow. There is no other way, and there is no time to wait. Some effective measures have been and are being taken to help agriculture. The procurement prices for many agricultural products have been increased. New forms of organization are being introduced in enterprises, villages, and cooperatives; however, we must all work to overcome this situation. This is the call we must make to each other under today's conditions.

EEC Talks Conducted in 'Constructive Spirit'

AU2002142991 Tirana ATA in English 1015 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Tirana, February 19 (ATA)—Talks were conducted in Brussels on February 18 between the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania and that of the European Community Commission. During the talks, they discussed on the modalities of establishing diplomatic relations between the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the European Community, as well as the forms of cooperation that might be realised between them in the economic, trade field, etc. Both parties agreed on accelerating the necessary procedures to conclude the respective agreements and to begin the materialisation of the relations.

The talks were conducted in a constructive spirit of understanding. For the Albanian party they were guided by the director of multilateral cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Petraq Pojani, and for the European Community Commission by the director for relations with countries of Eastern and Central Europe as well as of CSCE, Pablo de Benavides.

The delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was also received by the vice-director general for foreign relations of the European Community Commission, Jean Louis Kadie [name as received], who expressed his satisfaction and readiness to promote relations with our country in all fields.

The delegation of the Foreign Ministry returned home on February 19.

Zhelev Addresses Reform Issues; Meets Kinnock

AU2102091291 Sofia BTA in English 2226 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] London, February 20 (BTA)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev, who is on an official visit to Britain, gave a press conference today. He answered a number of questions concerning the political and economic reform in Bulgaria, his views on the dismantling of the totalitarian structures, the freedom of religion in this country. Answering a question about the statement made recently for the BBC by Mr. Ivan Stanchov, Bulgarian ambassador to Britain, the president reconfirmed his full confidence in the ambassador's loyalty to the state power in the Republic of Bulgaria. He stressed that Mr. Stanchov's nomination to the post was extremely felicitous and that he expected him to do much for Bulgaria's benefit.

Mr. Zhelev pointed out that a special inquiry is being held in Bulgaria into writer Georgi Markov's murder twelve years ago in London, which he defined as political. "We are interested in telling the whole truth so as to remove this blemish from our country's image," the president said.

Answering another question, he said the Bulgarians would be glad if the pope visited their country which would contribute to the improvement of its relations with the Western countries. "There is full freedom of religion in Bulgaria", Dr. Zhelev said. Asked about an agreement with Israel on sending Bulgarian workers to the Western Bank of the River Jordan, he replied he knew nothing of such an agreement.

Later on Mr. Zhelev had a brief conversation with Mr. Bernard Weatherill, speaker of the House of Commons. Then the Bulgarian president talked on the radical changes in Bulgaria before members of the Royal Institute on International Affairs.

"Sometimes the peaceful nature of the democratic changes is endangered by high political tension which generates social discontent. This danger is all the more real because of the grave economic crisis in which this country is sinking," the president said.

Enumerating the guiding principles of new democratic Bulgaria's foreign policy, the president emphasized political pragmatism and the observance of national sovereignty and the sovereignty of the other nations. He pointed to the following priorities of Bulgaria's foreign policy: good, and, if possible, friendly relations with the neighbouring countries, recognition of the territorial integrity and indivisibility of each country, strengthening the economic and cultural contacts with other countries for their mutual benefit. "Bulgaria's integration into the future unified Europe requires the broadening of her participation in the ongoing integration of Europe, stronger contacts with the European institutions and constructive participation in their work, higher mobility and initiative within the framework of the Helsinki process in view of building confidence among the countries on the continent," Dr. Zhelev said. He pointed out some more requirements such as the reassessment of Bulgaria's participation in the United Nations and using the world organization's full potential as a guarantee of Bulgaria's national interests and world peace, a complete harmonization of Bulgarian legislation and the new Constitution with the European Human Rights Convention and other international documents, steady contacts with the European and world organizations on human rights and the respective committees with the Council of Europe, the European Community and the North Atlantic Assembly. Dr. Zhelev stressed that Bulgaria had already taken a number of steps to guarantee the rights and freedoms of every Bulgarian citizen.

In the afternoon President Zhelev met the parliamentary opposition leader Mr. Neil Kinnock. Mr. Kinnock suggested that the Bulgarian side points to a priority trend or sphere in which the Labour Party could help Bulgaria. The Bulgarian delegation pointed to Bulgaria's acute oil shortages.

In the evening President Zhelev gave an interview for the Bulgarian section of the BBC.

Popov Interviewed; Greek Cooperation Clarified

AU2002100991 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 14 Feb 91 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Dimitur Popov by Lyuben Genov on 14 February; place not given: "Being Neighbors, We Should Help Each Other"]

[Excerpts] Today, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov departs for Greece at the invitation of his colleague Konstandinos Mitsotakis.

Several of our ministers, experts, and businessmen will accompany the prime minister and are expected to hold talks with Greek business circles. The words friendship and good-neighborly relations are often reiterated on such occasions and used in official communiques as cliches without any specific meaning. For this reason we asked Dimitur Popov to review the real achievements in Bulgarian-Greek neighborly and friendly relations over the month that has elapsed since Prime Minister Mitsotakis's Sofia visit.

Regarding the question of using the waters of the river Mesta an authoritative commission has been established, while the Bulgarian side prepared certain options taking into consideration some previous studies of our scientists, Prime Minister Popov answered. The commission is ready to submit its draft project to be examined by the Council of Ministers even ahead of schedule.

Regarding the proposal of establishing a joint commission on ecological problems related to the Struma and

Mesta river beds negotiations were conducted with the Greek side, Dimitur Popov further stated.

As far as the agreement on multiple entry visas for Bulgarian diplomats and businessmen are concerned, both the Bulgarian and the Greek side contributed their share of understanding and the agreement may come into force as of 1 April 1991, Popov said.

The idea of opening a Bulgarian business center in Salonika is about to be implemented. Part of the former Bulgarian trade mission in Athens could be transferred to Salonika for this purpose.

A three-year plan for scientific and cultural exchange with Greece was signed by the end of January 1991.

One of the important agreements we reached with Mr. Mitsotakis was to prepare a document on avoiding double taxation that had been discussed for a long time. The document was coordinated with the Greek side by the end of January 1991, and I believe that it may be signed on the occasion of our forthcoming visit. Such a document is required for facilitating the work of Greek businessmen in our country.

Cooperation in the transport sector has further developed after the visit of Minister Valentin Pavlov to Athens. Our public was already informed on the results of the visit and an agreement was signed, Prime Minister Popov further pointed out.

A draft project on guaranteeing foreign investments, Greek investments included, which shall be submitted to the Grand National Assembly, is ready.

Another draft agreement authorizing Greece to import electric power from Turkey by using Bulgarian power grids has been prepared.

A draft project on an additional agreement for mutual briefing in case of nuclear accidents that might be adopted also exists, Popov stated.

He added that the visit of Greek Defense Minister Ioannis Varvitsiotis was particularly useful for our country. Questions related to arms reductions, restructuring of special production branches, and to common Balkan interests were discussed during the visit. Greece and Bulgaria are now mutually briefing each other on the deployment of military units in the border area and on forthcoming military exercises. Each side is informed about what is going on in the neighbor territory.

Draft on new solutions that are expected to be discussed during my forthcoming visits have been prepared, Popov added. [passage omitted]

I asked the prime minister about his expectations related to his forthcoming meetings in Athens and Saloniki.

My expectations are optimistic, he answered. Bulgarian businessmen will meet with their Greek colleagues in addition to the offcial talks.

We will discuss the possibility of establishing a Balkan Secretariat in Sofia through which to implement relations among the Balkan countries. This would be a serious step in the direction of a treaty, for stimulating our mutual Balkan relations, which are not bad, but could be improved. If we should be successful in this activity in the coming years, it would represent a considerable contribution to improving the Balkan atmosphere and facilitating our integration with Europe, which is of crucial importance for our economy.

As is known, Greece has granted a $50 million loan to Bulgaria. For the time being, this amount and the $50 million granted by Turkey are the only financial aid from abroad. Our banking specialists will negotiate with their Greek colleagues on the manner in which this loan is going to be used.

We shall propose to establish a customs-free zone and to discuss opportunities of joint geological research in the border areas. I presume that we shall also exchange opinions on the Turkish project of setting up a Black Sea cooperation zone.

The idea of facilitating transportation communications between Salonika and Lom, which is the most direct line from Greece to Europe and to the Soviet Union, is also well known and expected to be discussed, Popov stressed.

Answering a question on impressions from Mr. Mitsotakis's Sofia visit, the prime minister answered: Mr. Mitsotakis is a great political figure not only in Greece, but Europe-wide. [passage omitted].

The support of the Greek prime minister for Bulgaria's presence in the European structures is of great importance to us, considering that Mr. Mitsotakis is a guarantor for our country's role as an acceptable and trustworthy partner. Bulgaria could hardly maintain a real presence in Europe without the support of such political leaders.

Lukanov, Dimitrov Elected BSP Deputy Leaders

AU2102115491 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1115 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] BTA reports that Andrey Lukanov and Apostol Dimitrov have been elected deputy chairmen of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. This decision was reached at the session of the BSP Supreme Council and All-Party Control Commission that ended late last night.

According to the report, the first item on the agenda was the problems of the responsibility of the party and the personal guilt of its leaders for the crisis that the country is facing.

According to the assessment of the BSP Press Center and legislative group in the Grand National Assembly, the debates were lengthy, outspoken, and contructive. A decision that the Presidium of the BSP Supreme Council

should prepare the final text of the draft declaration of the BSP Supreme Council on the crisis in contemporary society and the party's political responsibility was taken on the basis of the working documents of the commission, chaired by Aleksandur Tomov, the critical comments and proposals made during the debate, and additonal investigational work. This will be submitted for adoption at the next session of the supreme party council.

BSP 'Europe' Legislative Faction Explained

AU2002101791 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 13 Feb 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with BSP 'Europe' Legislative faction member Petur-Emil Mitev by Stefka Nankova; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Nankova] Professor Mitev, what was the motivation for a group of deputies from the BSP Legislative Faction to establish a so-called Social Democratic Platform, called "Europe"?

[Mitev] I would point out the following three reasons: The first is political, namely the requirement of expressing the social democratic stand that the followers of the BSP's reform trend and certain legislative members are representing. The second is a technological one, because you can imagine what it means to be 1 of 120 in a diversified formation. The third reason is based on moral grounds; it is related to the aspiration of not only individually, but collectively voting in accordance with one's ideas and not on the basis of discipline. The responsibility of each individual National Assembly deputy is now increasing from day to day. The decisions which are facing us today most sensitively affect the existence of millions of people in our country.

[Nankova] If I understand correctly, the political motivation you just mentioned dissociates you from the BSP?

[Mitev] Two different trends currently exist within the BSP. One of them strives for a re-Bolshevization of the party, the other trend is drawing the party toward social democracy. We are convinced that the future belongs to the social democratic trend. [passage omitted]

[Nankova] Do you share any common views with the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party?

[Mitev] I think we do. We are convinced that the transformation of the BSP from a rightist nomenklatura party into a leftwing social democratic party requires our distancing ourselves from the power. I have repeatedly expressed this stand. As far as the orientation of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party is concerned, as it was expressed by Doctor Dertliev, it indicates that the party should not be involved with power during the transition period to preserve its own freedom of action. Despite the fact that in our case the goal is to acquire a social democratic nature —while the other party is trying to preserve it—I think that we have something in common. To play its social role, a social democratic party should not get involved with rightist activities. This does not mean that I am referring to the internal problems of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party. The transition requires efforts and this is a challenge for the intellectual elite of a nation in the first place. But this is another question.

[Nankova] A social democratic platform in a socialist party—how do you understand that?

[Mitev] The term "socialist" is not identical with "social democrat." Socialists have existed before the emergence of the social democracy as a political formation. A socialist is a more general definition. Throughout our century two basic trends developed in the workers movement: the Bolshevik and the social democratic trends. Between these two poles various eclectic positions have emerged. The October Revolution and the leftwing wave following World War II created the illusion that Bolshevism would be victorious. The disintegration of administrative socialism provided an answer to the question of which point of view will prevail in the future

[Nankova] In your recent television interview, you said that you have not yet thought about establishing a social democratic ideological current within the BSP, but that numerous BSP members are convinced that this is going to happen very soon. Do you think that your group might initiate the establishment of a left-wing social democratic party likely to separate itself from the BSP?

[Mitev] It would be an extremely difficult task to set this final goal at the very beginning. We should begin with infinitely more modest, but very important efforts—namely to strive for a constructive participation in parliamentary work with our independent point of view. [passage omitted]

SDS Declaration on Legitimacy of Elections

AU2002230091 Sofia BTA in English 2051 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—In a declaration, received at the BTA, the City Consultative Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) expresses its view on the issue of the legitimacy of the elections in the individual constituencies. It is of the opinion that "before the Mandate Commission of the Grand National Assembly completes its work and submits a general report on the legitimacy of the elections any questioning of the mandate of one MP or another is an overt diversion aimed at blocking the work of the Grand National Assembly".

Behind such moves we perceive the latest well premeditated steps of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] on the road to undermining the agreement, it is pointed out in the declaration. Using the tactics of endless and fruitless debates on peripheral issues, the parliamentary group of the BSP has succeeded in dallying off the adoption of the most important package of bills to form the foundations

of the economic reform. And at the same time, with enviable skill, it has managed to evade the question of its property.

The declaration appeals to the parliamentary groups of the SDS, of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms to resolutely oppose such "gross provocations", and, if this proves to be beyond their abilities, to cease their participation in "this obviously inefficient parliament" in a most dignified manner.

Popov on NATO, Disintegrating Warsaw Pact

AU2002230191 Sofia BTA in Enlish 2123 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—Prime Minister Dimitur Popov does not think it possible for Bulgaria to be admitted to NATO which does not mean that it will not develop its contacts with this organization. In connection with disputes on the pros and cons of joining NATO amongst the general public and in parliament, he told the military leadership that according to the government Bulgaria should side with NATO.

Today Mr. Popov met high-ranking officials of the Ministry of Defense and leaders of the "Rakovski" Legion. It was made clear that now that the Warsaw Treaty is disintegrating and the European structures of security are being built, Bulgaria should also rely on bilateral agreements guaranteeing its interests.

Mr. Dimitur Popov appreciated highly the Bulgaro-Greek military cooperation and said that Bulgaria and Greece wish the other Balkan countries also to join the atmosphere of these relations. "This would be good for the whole of Europe," he added.

The prime minister said that a Balkan Secretariat will be set up in the near future to deal with these questions.

Mr. Popov dwelled on the economic situation in this country which he defined as extremely grave. According to him the Bulgarians should arm themselves with understanding and accept the fact that their living standard will drop.

When Bulgaria effects the transition to a market economy, signs an agreement with the International Monetary Fund and settles her relations with her foreign creditors, she will be able to count on economic aid to the amount of 4 5 billion dollars by the end of the year.

Mr. Dimitur Popov thinks that the galloping inflation can be curbed this autumn.

The government is of the opinion that the local elections should be held in May at the earliest, while the parliamentary elections should be held in the autumn. The cabinet will propose this schedule to the president and to the political forces.

Vulkov Clarifies Foreign Policy Priorities

AU2002164591 Sofia BTA in English 1431 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—The Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Viktor Vulkov, emphasized that this country's foreign policy is orientated to Europe. In an interview with "DUMA", the Socialist Party's daily, he makes it clear that it is Bulgaria's goal to get integrated with the existing and emerging structures of uniting Europe.

We do not intend to make the problems of the country's security totally dependent on other states, international organizations and unions, he states in today's issue of "DUMA". He motivates this attitude by referring to the dynamic processes in the world today.

In his opinion, in the future Bulgaria should count on its own economic and military potential for safeguarding its national interests. In this context, Mr. Vulkov goes on to say, the reorganization of the Armed Forces must be completed based on of the reasonable and reliable sufficiency.

He believes that the dogmatism and narrow-mindedness in the theory and practice of Bulgaria's foreign policy are now being overcome in compliance with the new internal and external realities. "Phony nationalism that used to ignore everything which now underlies the basis of our foreign policy has been brought to an end; the national interests of the Bulgarian people are placed above everything else," Bulgaria's leading diplomat said.

Mr. Vulkov stresses the new character of this country's relations with the United States and the USSR and the progress of the political contacts with NATO and the West European Union.

Bulgaria shares the position of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia as to the Warsaw Treaty Organization, Mr. Vulkov states and adds that there are no special differences in the three countries' opinion on the matter.

It becomes clear from the interview that the existing bilateral treaties on friendship and mutual assistance with the other East European countries are soon to be reconsidered in the light of the new realities.

Mr. Vulkov says that in the near future President Zhelyu Zhelev will pay a series of visits to Western Europe.

Lukanov Comments on Zhivkov's Pending Trial

AU2002170691 Sofia BTA in English 1518 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—"You can't first decide to bring a person to court and look for charges only later," says the former prime minister, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, a senior functionary of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, in connection with the trial of Todor Zhivkov.

Mr. Lukanov's opinion appears in an interview for the latest issue of the "DEBATI" weekly.

The ex-prime minister believes that the nature of the charges brought against Zhivkov also bring Bulgaria into discredit. "Heads of state, although rarely, are impeached of crimes of constitutional magnitude," Mr. Lukanov says. He learnt from the press that he has been subpoenaed to testify in the trial.

Asked whether he would admit that he himself or his party are guilty of the present catastrophe, Mr. Lukanov says that a distinction should be made between "guilt" and "responsibility", insisting that "responsibility" is a much more precise term, but asserting that responsibility should be personalized.

Pressed about his own responsibility, Mr. Lukanov says that each member of the pre-November 10, 1989 leaderships shared the responsibility. "To make the change possible was more difficult than to resign," Mr. Lukanov says, probably implying his own part in the November 10 changes. Recent disclosures, however, suggest that Mr. Zhivkov resigned of his own accord.

Mr. Lukanov says further on that he has always fought for alternatives and could prove it even though political life at that time had been behind closed doors.

The former head of government denies having ever covered up crimes of which he knew. He says he has no accounts with foreign banks.

The Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party today opens a plenum to consider the party's guilt for the catastrophe. Judging by statements made by socialist MP's at their regular news conference yesterday, Mr. Lukanov will be held responsible, too.

Zhivkov's Pretrial Activities Viewed

AU2002141091 Sofia BTA in English 1341 GMT 20 Feb 91

["Zhivkov: Guilt or Responsibility?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—Thirty-six years after reaching for absolute power over Bulgaria, ousted supremo Todor Zhivkov looks unchanged in more respects than one. He is much older, pushing eighty, but he wears his age well. He has neither gained nor lost weight and his face is almost unwrinkled. Life obviously treated him well during all those years in office, when he took an almost daily dose of tonics.

What matters most now is that, awaiting the February 25 trial at which he is to be held responsible mainly for his actions which landed Bulgaria in her present dire straits, Zhivkov is largely unruffled. He speaks with self-assurance, having obviously rehearsed some questions with his defense lawyers. At times he falters and at others he relapses into some of those terrible cliches for which the nation remembers his political speeches, he is a bit fidgety but then he calms down, he refers to himself in the third person but avoids the royal "we".

What are his political and other actions: moral or immoral? This is a good question for Mr. Zhivkov, but he can be hardly expected to oblige with a quick answer. What he has been busy doing recently is well organized and, according to certain sources, successful activity to promote his own interests. He approached Amnesty International for help, arguing that his trial would be a travesty of justice and that the atmosphere in the country was abnormal. Yes, it is abnormal and of all people he knows perfectly well why.

In his first televised interview he posed as a witch-hunt victim and made a point which is becoming his battle cry: that he accepts the political responsibility but pleads not guilty of criminal offenses. He wrote a letter (and sent it by regular mail) to Soviet leader Gorbachev, congratulating him belatedly on his Nobel Prize and emphasizing his wonderful memories of their work together. In other interviews, however, which he has been readily granting to foreign and local reporters, and in a non-fiction profile written by his former aide, he painted a very different picture of Gorbachev, claiming that the latter would not let him go ahead with his reformist intentions to orient Bulgaria to Western-style development and suppressed the truth, which Zhivkov had long realized, that socialism is an unjust social system doomed to failure.

Recently he praised the operation of the Prosecutor's Office only to describe his trial as "unfair" in the same breath)

Is this any way to be consistent? Or ethical? Or, rather, is it rather a matter of memory, or of an old fox's cynical stratagems? Some answers are self-evident. Not so with the motives. History has never tolerated the complete demonization of a person. Further details about Zhivkov the man and Zhivkov the politician will come to light, sooner or later. About the person who keeps the original transcripts of the April 1956 plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the personal safe of his right-hand man Milko Balev and claims his heart bleeds for the Bulgarian people.

Is he responsible for the crackdowns, for the economic, political and moral degradation of the Bulgarian society? His own party has blamed him for flagrant violations of fundamental party principles, for serious abuses and gross blunders in the country's socioeconomic development. What about the outrages and the practical jokes on people in disfavor who did not know what tomorrow had in store for them? What about the assimilation campaign launched against the ethnic Turks?

A couple of days ago Mr. Zhivkov asked in turn: "Why have you been re-electing me unquestioningly as your leader for so many years?" Maybe he was right to ask that. Especially considering the cheerful familiarity with which he made that showman's gesture, waving to the

audience at the trial of his former subordinate Stoyan Ovcharov, where be appeared in the witness box....

Dertliev Comments on Army Officers' Situation

AU2102082191 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 15 Feb 91 p 1

[Interview with Doctor Petur Dertliev, cochairman of the Union of Democratic Forces, SDS, Coordinating Council and chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, by Major Lyubomir Denov; place and date not given: "There Are Solutions"]

[Text] [Denov] Mr. Dertliev, since 10 November 1989 the military personnel and the peasants are the only groups among our people who did not participate in street demonstrations. Some people explain this fact by the famous "bag of money," but it already became evident that the bag is empty and the uniforms are rather worn out.... The unrest in some garrisons of our country was differently interpreted by the different political sides. Only the SDS remained silent...!

[Dertliev] I presume that you are familiar with the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party's military program. We support the idea of a modern army, and therefore we are far from the idea of viewing the officers' class with envy. I am profoundly convinced that the protectors of the motherland should be assured about their material situation. In the opposite case, we have no moral justification to claim that they should strictly fulfill their military obligations. Our country is living through incredible hardships today and everyone is aware of the situation. Despite everything, however, we should search for solutions so our Army may become a genuine elite after the relevant organizational and structural changes have been accomplished.

Assembly Continues Second Reading of Land Bill

AU2102091491 Sofia BTA in English 2208 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—Today parliament continued its second reading vote of the Land Act.

It passed a clause of the Land Act which restores the collectivized land to its former owners and their heirs. According to Mr. Aleksandur Dzherov, chairman of the parliamentary Legislative Committee and MP of the Union of Democratic Forces, this was the most important principle of the law.

A household can own up to 30 hectares of land. Every Bulgarian citizen, resident in Bulgaria, has the right to own arable land.

The owners are allowed to choose the way in which they are going to cultivate their land. They will undertake not to harm the soil and to observe the hygenic and environmental requirements in cultivating the land.

Tomorrow the debates will continue. Three-quarters of the act are still to be put to the vote.

Claims Against Former Tourism Officials

AU2002220691 Sofia BTA in English 1955 GMT 20 Feb 91

["Former Security Services Man Speaks Out on a Spies Affair"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—Former chief of the State Committee on Tourism Georgi Evtimov and his first deputy Dimitur Mikov were exposed as spies for the foreign secret services but the case was blanketed by their protectors, high-ranking functionaries in Zhivkov's regime, Mr. Georgi Penev claims in an interview for the "168 CHASA" weekly. He is a former Security Services officer, representative of the State Committee on Tourism in some Western countries.

Having exposed the two of them some years ago, Mr. Georgi Penev was arrested in 1983 and is now serving a 15 years' term in prison on a charge of abuses, trumped up to conceal the case as he believes.

Mr. Penev says the arguments for his disclosure of the two former chiefs of Bulgarian tourism were laid out in a document of 200 pages which disappeared mysteriously from the case file and Mr. Evtimov was appointed ambassador to the FRG. Mr. Penev accuses high-ranking functionaries in Zhivkov's regime such as Petur Mladenov, Milko Balev, Aleksandur Lilov, Atanas Semerdzhiev, Emil Khristov and Secret Services chiefs, of having instigated the trial against him in order to hush up their proteges' treason.

"Have you ever heard of an intelligence service jailing its own agent? This is what they did to me. They put me in prison after 23 years of regular service. They stifled the source of information and appointed Georgi Evtimov ambassador to the FRG where he would be closer to his Western employers," Mr. Penev says.

New Disclosures in Markov 'Umbrella' Case

AU2002220791 Sofia BTA in English 2023 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—"I am one hundred percent sure that the Bulgarian Security Services were behind the Georgi Markov case," said Mr. Georgi Penev, a former Secret Services officer who in 1983 was sentenced to 15 years in prison on, as he says, trumped up charges of abuses.

Bulgarian writer and dissident Georgi Markov died in London on September 11, 1978 under mysterious circumstance. His death aroused suspicions that he was killed by the Bulgarian Secret Services. These popular suspicions gave rise to the so-called "Bulgarian Umbrella" version.

In an interview for the "168 CHASA" weekly Mr. Penev, who has worked for the State Security for 23 years, maintains that the Secret Services are involved in the Georgi Markov case as masterminders rather than as executors. "Why should anyone abroad be concerned with Bulgarians who observe the local laws? Who would benefit by killing Georgi Markov and Vladimir Kostov (a former Security Services officer and journalist who emigrated to France in the mid 1970's and has ever since been working for Radio Free Europe), who barely escaped an attempt on his life. Mr. Penev resents the fact that the same examining magistrate who proceeded with the fabricated (according to Penev) charges against him, is now investigating Georgi Markov's case. "I thought things in Bulgaria had changed but when I learnt about this, I felt disappointed. Only an utter simpleton like I myself was seven years ago could believe that the State Security will denounce itself," says Mr. Penev at the end of the interview he gave from prison.

Former Communist Official on Zhivkov Guilt

AU2002220591 Sofia BTA in English 1656 GMT 20 Feb 91

["Will Shared Guilt Be Considered?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—Could Todor Zhivkov's trial become a political trial against the system itself if it happens to "draw in" more and more people?

A former high-ranking BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] official and a close aide of Todor Zhivkov's, who wished to remain anonymous, told the BTA that this was unlikely. He hopes the trial will bring to light unknown facts that had puzzled even him, though he was at the top. This official did not try to evade his own responsibility. He is no longer in the apparatus of the former Communist Party and, as he says, has plenty of time now to think the past over.

The former communist official says Todor Zhivkov is right in asserting that all decisions were taken jointly. Petur Mladenov, Andrey Lukanov, Dobri Dzhurov, Stanko Todorov and, to a lesser extent, Aleksandur Lilov, should take their share of the blame.

The former No. 1 usually worked out his projects with the assistance of a group of his subordinates and consulted different persons on different problems. After that the project would be submitted to the Politburo which always voted it through unanimously. So the members of the upper leadership of the BCP were not always aware of Zhivkov's plans. For example, the Central Committee never received information on Bulgaria's foreign debt. "But we are to blame that we never asked and never said 'no'," the former member of the communist upper leadership said.

He maintained, quite earnestly, that he had trusted Zhivkov. He said other people had trusted him too. Zhivkov should not be judged partially. When Zhivkov came to power in 1956 many hoped that this change would put an end to the personality cult. And at first Zhivkov did justify their expectations". The coevals of this man (now 55-60 years old) had for a long time believed in the communist ideal and could not imagine that it was all demagogy. The former communist official sensed something was wrong when he dwelled on the criticism made in Todor Zhivkov's reports it was never aimed at concrete persons or institutions.

BSP Supreme Council Discusses Party Guilt

AU2002230291 Sofia BTA in English 2111 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—Today the Supreme Council of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] is discussing the crisis in the modern society and the political responsibility of the party, as well as the guilt of its former leaders.

The main report was read by Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, the Press Center of the BSP reported. The Supreme Council is preparing declaration of some 40 pages on this issue. The document "divides" the political responsibility of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] into the following sections: responsibility for the sociopolitical crisis in the Bulgarian society over the last decades, for the structural changes in the economy, for the foreign debt, for the grave situation in agriculture, for the violations of ecological standards, on the national issue, for the privileges, enjoyed by certain groups of the population, for the camps in the late 1950's and early 1960's and in the international field.

Each section also refers to the personal guilt of former party and state leader for concrete actions in the past. The declaration is expected to give answers to many questions: who took the decisions, when, where, why and how these decisions were taken, who took part in their implementation, who is responsible for Bulgaria's foreign debt and for the construction of such "socialist enterprises" as the Radomir Plant, etc.

Naturally, after the final touches are added to this document, with which the BSP is expected to recognize the political responsibility of its predecessor the BCP, it may be structured in a different way and some formulations may be added or crossed out.

Kurdzhali BSP Council Admits Mistakes

AU2102105291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Feb 91 p 2

[Radka Petrova report on declaration by the Kurdzhali Municipal Council and Control Commission of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]; place and date not given]

[Text] Having analyzed activities before 10 November 1989, we consider the okrug and municipal organization of the Bulgarian Communist Party were responsible, not because they sought to overcome the backwardness of

our region by intensification of industry and agriculture, but because this process was carried out in an atmosphere of ideological prejudice, arbitrary political acts, and intolerance.

The document reflects the present state of self-awareness of the BSP municipal organization and its leadership. It assumes political responsibility for the errors and weaknesses that the party committed during the period in question.

The Kurdzhali Socialists also acknowledge their responsibility for permitting a narrow section of leading cadres to take over; in practice, these cadres possessed the right to resolve all problems in the name of the rank-and-file party members, and they placed a certain circle of people in privileged positions.

While totally supporting the idea of unification of the Bulgarian nation, we categorically dissociate ourselves both from the idea that the revival process is identified with the act of changing the names of the Bulgarian Turks and from the way in which this act was carried out, the declaration states later.

Guided by a sincere desire to make an objective, impartial assessment, the Kurdzhali BSP Municipal Council and Control Commission propose to the political forces in the municipality that a joint commission to evaluate the abuses be created. Moreover, they state their readiness to cooperate in handing over the party documentation necessary for this purpose.

Soviet Oil Supply Secured by Products

AU2002141691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 15 Feb 91 p 4

[Yuriy Popov article: "Oil Supply Could Be Steady If Backed by Bulgarian Goods"]

[Text] According to data provided by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, last year we imported 7,801,000 tonnes of oil from the USSR at a cost of 710.4 million transferable rubles. In exchange, Bulgaria exported agricultural goods and foodstuffs, as well as chemical products and machine building and electronic goods. If those goods were sold in the international markets on the basis of regular international prices, we could use the profit to purchase only 4.4 million tonnes oil.

The data shows that a certain quantity was imported from Libya, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. That amounts to only 2.3 million tonnes. Additional quantities of natural gas, coal, and electric power were imported from the USSR.

It is true that the Bulgarian economy continues to be closely related to supplies from the USSR. The conditions continue to be favorable for Bulgaria.

According to the agreement on trade-economic relations with the USSR, it is possible that in 1991 we could receive five million tonnes of oil, 150,000 tonnes of mazut, and 50,000 tonnes of diesel fuel. These quantities are significantly smaller than those of 1990. This is a result of the difficulties the USSR is facing because of the depletion of some Soviet mines, and the serious domestic problems. Nevertheless, the possibility exists to acquire an additional quantity of 1.5 million tonnes of oil on the basis of direct relations and contracts between Bulgarian companies and Soviet production-territorial trusts on the supply of oil in exchange for Bulgarian goods. The list of goods that the USSR must receive on the basis of contracts already signed includes calcinated soda, polypropylene, agrarian products, medicines, and goods for the needs of the petrochemical industry. If these products are regularly produced, there will be a regular supply of oil.

The supply from Libya, Iran, and Syria will hardly satisfy the needs during the year. In the future we will probably have to pay greater attention to natural gas, which could be imported from the USSR. For the current year, it is already obvious that in the next few months we will have to find other suppliers—of course, in exchange for convertible currency. According to the data of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the average price of Soviet oil last year was $146.8 per tonne. The average international price was $161.91 per tonne. The first quantity received this year cost $192.23 per tonne, while the average international price was $200-210 per tonne.

The transportation expenditures have a big impact on the final value of the supplies. Last year the Soviet Black Sea ports' fee was about 3.5 rubles per tonne, in Libya—$6.88, in the Red Sea—$12.63, and in the Persian Gulf—$15.65. Those fees, which obviously will increase during the year, must be taken into consideration when the final price is calculated.

The USSR has enough customers for its raw materials. It is more complicated to find buyers for Bulgarian goods, something that is crucially important at the present difficult period for our economy.

Kozloduy Facility Lacks Viable Emergency Plans

AU2002153491 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 14 Feb 91 p 3

[Article by Docent Todor Dimchev: "Ostrich With Its Head in the Sand"]

[Text] The Law on Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy is quite definite: "The protection of human life and health and of the environment is a primary concern in the utilization of nuclear energy, and this takes priority over the needs of the national economy and other public needs." These requirements of the law also apply to the plan for dealing with emergencies.

In practice, however, emergency planning in Bulgaria is unsatisfactory, to say the least. Even the chairman of the

Nuclear Energy Industry Economic Trust, declared at the end of last year that "weaknesses in emergency planning" exist.

As for the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant's state of readiness to deal with accidents, this is far below what is required. Sufficient stocks of dried milk, canned foods, and iodine drugs have not been prepared. An evacuation plan does exist, but no vehicles have been specially assigned for this work. A warning system has been set up, but there are not enough staff to maintain it. The system is new, but tests do not confirm its reliability. The emergency plan includes no scientifically based prediction or scenario for the development and the phases of possible unforeseen accidents. Without these, it is impossible to draw up a plan for emergency work. No decision has been made either on the emergency plan of the Kozloduy plant or in practice on who is to determine the extent and nature of the unforeseen accident or on the procedure for doing this. Furthermore, no body or organization has been specified to determine the meteorological factors, without which it is impossible to predict the consequences for the population. According to forecasts, a radiation accident in the VVER-400 generating units will develop at lightning speed. Accordingly, unless the duty officer has up-to-date information on meteorological conditions, he will be unable to warn the populated areas that are threatened. This statement was made by qualified specialists in November 1990.

The emergency plan fails to adequately specify the functions and obligations of individual persons and official departments or the links between them. A schedule should be prepared and fulfilled for periodic training at the nuclear power plant, as well as for training according to the plans for protecting staff and the population at large. The state of preparedness for carrying out rescue and emergency repair operations in the threatened oblasts, municipalities, and townships is extremely inadequate.

The legal order requires that an emergency plan be finally prepared and the necessary resources be provided three months before a reactor is refuelled. Permission to load the nuclear fuel may be granted only if a complete check on readiness for emergencies has been completed and a certificate issued to this effect.

Is this requirement of the law being observed in relation to the No. 6 VVER-1000 Generating Unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant? The public should be informed! It is intolerable for the interests of certain circles to be placed above those of the members of the public, who are involuntarily subjected to risk. Whose interests lie behind the newly formed Komos and Regena Companies? Members of the Kozloduy provisional administration are asking why the hotel for foreigners is being built by the Regena Company instead of by the Nuclear Energy Economic Trust, and why it is located in the town. Probably, this is the easiest way for money to flow from one pocket into another.

It seems that once again, certain nice people are seeking to make their fortunes. Does this mean that those who are working on the emergency plan are to be left to the vagaries of fortune?

Country Officially Admitted to Council of Europe

LD2102100191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0930 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic was officially admitted to the Council of Europe today as its 25th member. At the gala ceremony at the beginning of the Council's Committee of Ministers session in Madrid, relevant documents were signed by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe. Jiri Dienstbier also signed the European Human Rights Agreement.

'Contentious Issues' in Pact Abolition

LD2002165791 Prague CTK in English 1529 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 20 (CTK)—The abolition of the Warsaw Pact military structures as proposed by the Soviet Union seems, at first glance, inadmissible for Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Spokesman Egon Lansky said at a briefing here today.

He was referring to a meeting of Warsaw Treaty representatives due to be held in Budapest on Monday February 25, which will deal with the abolition of the Warsaw Pact military structures and preparations for the abolition or reorganization of political structures.

"The Soviet side proposes the abolition of the military structures but puts it forward in a way which constitutes for Czechoslovakia a whole series of contentious issues, some of which seeming inadmissible for us at first glance. According to the Soviet proposal for settling the financial aspects of the dissolution of the military structures all sides should first give up all their financial claims," Lansky said. He noted that not to speak of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia in percentage terms contributed most to the Pact's military structures - about 13 per cent.

The briefing was also addressed by Nils Eliasson, director of the CSCE secretariat opened in Prague today. He said the main tasks of the secretariat will include organization of political consultations, the first of which are to be held in Prague in May. It will also provide information on all affairs concerning the Helsinki process and promote all CSCE activities.

Eliasson also mentioned the possibility of setting up a CSCE parliamentary assembly.

Dienstbier Interviewed on Visegrad Summit, Poland

AU2102084791 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16-17 Feb 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by Kazimierz Woycicki; place and date not give: "We Have Common Interests"]

[Text] [Woycicki] How would you assess the significance of the three-country meeting at Visegrad?

[Dienstbier] It is important, because we are three countries that are in a similar situation, so there are many fields in which we can cooperate. We have common security interests. The West is interested in intensifying cooperation. If we want to enter Europe, we have to demonstrate that we are not a destabilizing region and that we are able to solve our problems democratically.

[Woycicki] The differences between Poland's approach to Germany and that of Czechoslovakia are frequently discussed.

[Dienstbier] Perhaps there were different approaches in the beginning, after the wall came down, but that is understandable, because the situation was different from the viewpoint of our two countries. The Germans never called into question the Czechoslovak borders. In the case of Poland, however, there was a need to confirm the border with Germany. On the other hand, an approach that is common to both Poland and Germany is full acceptance of Germany's right to unity.

[Woycicki] Presently there is a lot of discussion in our countries about the closed border between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

[Dienstbier] The border will be opened on 1 March. We are preparing a treaty on this issue. I was always of the opinion that we could not accept the Czechoslovak Government's 1982 decision making it difficult for Poles to travel to Czechoslovakia. There was no economic justification for it. It was a decision dictated by the fear that the "Solidarity plague" would enter our country. In my opinion, it is our duty to make a decision now on opening the border with Poland.

However, we cannot confuse humanitarian and political issues with economic ones. They have to be dealt with separately. The fact is that the level of economic crisis in our two countries is different. Therefore, I am for the time being pleased that the Czechoslovak Government yesterday decided to open the border to border-area traffic. At the same time, we are also considering the question of conditions under which the border could be opened generally.

[Woycicki] Can I ask you to what extent your government's policy toward Poland is understood and supported by Czechoslovak public opinion?

[Dienstbier] I think that there are many misunderstandings in assessing the policy. People who live close to the border are afraid that they will not be able to buy anything in their shops because "the Poles will buy up everything." They are often right. The problem is not only that everything will be bought up by the Poles, but also that it is not possible for us to supply goods to the region.

The old system is collapsing, but we still do not have a new one. There are no private enterprises that can supply

sufficient quantities of goods that are sought after. I do not know what the situation is like in Poland, but in Czechoslovakia's border regions, it is possible to, for example, buy bread at 10 o'clock, but after that the shop is empty. People react to this in an understandable way. They are afraid of everything being "bought up." These issues have to be resolved calmly. Above all, it is a question of solutions that get to the bottom of the real economic reasons for these absurd situations.

World Chemical Disarmament Promoted

LD2002223891 Prague CTK in English 1545 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 20 (CTK)—General Josef Cerny, the chief of the Czechoslovak Army's chemical units, confirmed Czechoslovakia's active share in the process of chemical disarmament in the world at a regular Army briefing here today.

Cerny recalled Czechoslovakia's document containing detailed data about the production, consumption, import and export of substances relevant to the chemical weapons convention. No other country except the USA and the USSR has so far presented such a document.

Cerny said that Czechoslovakia's approach to the talks on a chemical weapons' ban was motivated by the results of Soviet-U.S. talks on publishing data about chemical weapons, and by the opinion that countries need not keep secret their capability to produce a poisonous substance, Czechoslovakia is capable of producing chemical weapons but does not own chemical weapons and has never given or shown anybody the production technology. Cerny said these substances are produced for industrial, scientific and medical facilities, both military and civilian.

Klaus Interviewed on Economic Reform Program

AU2002144091 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Feb 91 pp 8, 9

[Interview with Federal Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus by HOSPODARSKE NOVINY reporter Jiri Sekera; place and date not given: "I Do Not Like Catastrophic Scenarios; With the Federal Minister of Finance on Controversial and on Straightforward Questions of the Reform";—first paragraph is HOSPODARSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] Vaclav Klaus is probably the most interviewed Czechoslovak politician. In the interview we are publishing, however, we did not ask him for opinions regarding some particular issues brought up every day by the rapid developments in Czechoslovakia, but rather, having realized the crucial importance of this moment for the entire reform process and political future of the country, we raised broader types of questions.

[Sekera] Minister, the social tension that will accompany the Czechoslovak economic reform generally has been considered to be its most significant risk factor. However, even before this tension became real, obstructions of at least the same difficulty barred our way: the power-sharing disputes, aggravated minority issues, profound disagreements on the questions of compensation and restitution, threats to the large privatization, antithetical differentiation processes in the Civic Forum.... Can you not but feel that far too many things are going wrong?

[Klaus] It is sad that these things are going wrong, and it complicates the matter tremendously. Still, it is not all that surprising and it is no reason to panic. Unfortunately, the obsolete idea of the centralist management and coordination of everything continues to dominate in Czechoslovakia. And at a time when we pretty well managed to part with the idea of central economic management, the illusion survives of a possibility to centrally regulate the transformation of the economy into a market economy. However, just as the former has not been possible, the latter is not possible either. This means simply that difficulties, bottlenecks, and tensions will accompany the transformation process. The thought that some superman could sit somewhere with all the data precisely calculated in a huge computer that would tell him what he should do at any given instant, that at a certain moment he is to press button B1 and then button C7 with the result that the reform will proceed smoothly, is a misunderstanding that we must dispel just as we must reduce the degree of panic to which we occasionally succumb. This is precisely what I would like to express particularly clearly and strongly. It does not at all mean that I am happy because someone elevates his narrow particular interests above far more general ones, and therefore at one time he complicates the power-sharing dispute and at another pushes for some particular restitution issue to the detriment of something else. Let us put aside whether I like it or not, but the idea that things could proceed differently is, I believe, wrong in principle.

[Sekera] Let us, then, talk about the progress of the reform process. Now, at the beginning of the year, it gained in intensity and, of course, the reactions it provokes are more excited, too. It concerns, above all, the most painful consequence of the liberalization—the increase in consumer prices. Some were shocked, others—judging by the comments in the press—felt it was not sufficiently great. Nevertheless, all are complaining that this step was not adequately prepared either organizationally or technically, or from the point of view of the sequence of the reform stages; the fact that it was introduced under conditions of almost totally monopolistic structures of both production and marketing is a particularly sore point.

[Klaus] At this time, I would like to point out that our reform is a more or less connected process and that it did not actually begin on 1 January 1991 but on 1 January 1990. I would divide the criticism of the organizational

preparations for the liberalization into two things. On the one hand, that is the smaller part, I would agree with the criticism, on the other, the greater part, I would disagree. The criticism of the delayed administrative, organizational preparation of new price lists, rate tables, etc. is justified. Of course, if they existed earlier, there would not have been such confusion in the marketing organizations. In this case, however, I can find an excuse in the power-sharing disputes. If it were not for them, and if this step, which absolutely had to be managed explicitly and unequivocally from one place, were prepared at the Federal Ministry of Finance, I swear it would have been prepared in time.

As you well know, during the past three months, we were under such tremendous pressure over the power-sharing disputes that until the very last moment it was not clear who could and who could not issue this or that ruling, edict, or law. That certainly was a complication, and I promise that even with the best intentions I could not overcome it. Over the Christmas period, I contacted all prime ministers who were on vacation, I phoned them in the mountains because the acting prime minister did not feel authorized to comment on the particular thing I was presenting. On 27 December I said that if I did not get through to them, I would declare it myself and then tried to defend my violation of jurisdictions. Thus, I accept the criticism for the smaller part of this unpreparedness. Nonetheless, I promise that I did what I could. Certainly, we did not intend to link the timing of the issue of the sales tax uniformity with that of the price liberalization. We wanted to introduce the tax changes on 1 July, 1 September, 1 October, November, and December, [dates as published] but during the power-sharing disputes we could not find the strength or the consensus. The second half of the question is far more fundamental—it concerns the criticism that the liberalization was introduced under the conditions of a monopolist structure in the economy and the unrealized demonopolization. I believe it is one of the chimeras that this demonopolization can be achieved by some central administrative decisions. The idea that we could subdivide monopolies into some sustainable or unsustainable entities from the center and without the liberalization stage is false. Nevertheless, the claim that the demonopolization should have been done first is constantly repeated. Exactly the opposite is true, the liberalization itself is the greatest impulse for the demonopolization. In a certain sense, it is the stock question whether the chicken or the egg existed first. The cheap criticism that it would be great to have a demonopolized economy and this, in turn, would bring better results in the price liberalization, although true, is practically useless.

[Sekera] Hence, whether we tend to believe it was the chicken or the egg, one thing is for sure: The reform showed people a much more horrible face than was apparently necessary....

[Klaus] Although as a citizen and a person, I certainly do not wish for the prices to slip out of my hands as they are, unfortunately, I must insist on what I said. There is no other way to change people's conduct, to change our thinking. I am well aware that many people will smile and reproach me with the fact that the paycheck of a minister is larger than that of a pensioner. Look, I come home at 2300. I cannot even recall when I went shopping last, and therefore, in addition to my wife, my children often shop. I must say that the children used to buy whole loaves of bread and now they buy halves. That is a change in thinking, attitude, and conduct, and this change could not have occurred through education, advice, or instructions. It could only result from changing economic conditions. And I believe that many of these processes took, take, and will take place in Czechoslovakia. In this respect, it was necessary, however painful it is, and many people are unable to defend themselves.

[Sekera] Recently, you have repeatedly rejected catastrophic prognoses for further development of our reform process. Nevertheless, the reform, the way it is programmed—i.e., as an uncompromising and striking impact upon the ineffectiveness, backwardness, and dependence on infusions from state resources—necessarily leads to confrontations. From the catharsis, through which our economy will pass, able and adaptable individuals and enterprises should emerge fast. Nobody knows, however, how many of them are really going to recover, whether the force of the destruction will not also eliminate what under more favorable circumstances and with some support could prove to be viable. Moreover, there is no quantified concept of the total strength of the impact, or is there?

[Klaus] My first objection is to the word uncompromising. I believe that the talk about the harshness of our reform is somewhat extreme. Recently, I asked the secretariat to collect all the letters in which I am told that if we do not provide subsidies, discounts, this or that, then, after 1 January 1990, the applicants will survive six to eight weeks at the most. A year passed, and absolutely all of them survived. It is true that we often hear various catastrophic scenarios. We said that the unemployment rate might reach 5 to 8 percent. Of course, I hear from people around me that it will be 8 to 10 percent. Frankly, I have the feeling that there will be many less unemployed than these numbers indicate. Understand me correctly: I would not want anybody to misinterpret this and say that I do not think about society. In any case, this is not the time to assess whether or not my vision considers society. I believe that there are more than enough concessions provided by one or another ministry behind our backs. Thus, the reform is not so completely uncompromising as is rumored.

I do not like catastrophic scenarios because in the economy the expectation factor is terribly important. This expectation is created by everybody individually as he looks around and acts accordingly. In other words, these scenarios represent, in a sense, a self-fulfilling prophecy.

If we knew what would happen, we would say so. Since, however, we know so little about so many things, I would not dare draft such a scenario. I do not want to say that it is impossible for something to turn out worse than expected. But I do not consider it proper to present on the television screen in a voice of certainty predictions of the number of unemployed, the size of the foreign debt, and the number of bankruptcies.

You are asking whether a quantified concept exists. Such a prognosis is terribly difficult. I keep repeating that it has two dimensions—internal and external. Should the Eastern market be closed to us and should a dramatic crisis occur in the marketing of our goods, then all the prognoses will change radically. Further, I would like to respond to the idea that we should proceed somehow gently, I do not think that we are being rough. The main thing is that our enterprises finally feel some pressure. They felt hardly any pressure over the past year as there still was the chance to turn to the Eastern markets. Many things were made easy, unfortunately, the subsidies were not even reduced, and so many things are left to be dealt with this year.

[Sekera] One can say with certainty that in many enterprises your opinion regarding the harshness of the impact will not be shared. They have arguments that can hardly be ignored....

[Klaus] We all well know that we have an unhealthy economy as well as unhealthy individual economic elements. Certainly, we have to cure them. The consideration of how these elements got into this position is rather secondary. If my two sons have the flu, and one of them is sick because he jumped into the river in an attempt to save a little child (that is only an example), while the other one went to a dance and when it was 20 degrees below zero dressed only in a shirt and a light jacket and saw some young lady home, the cause of it is actually quite irrelevant today; simply, they both are sick with the flu. If I were put in a predicament because eight years ago a district secretary in cooperation with a deputy minister of this or that ministry insisted on this or that investment and this investment proves to be unfeasible, we must deal with it. After all, we all have a justified feeling of being cheated by the former regime. There is no point in complaining about it, that does not lead anywhere. We are curing a disease and we are trying to improve our economy.

[Sekera] Apparently, you will have to face more and more the criticism claiming that the treatment you prescribe is too drastic....

[Klaus] It is quite clear that certain economic activities that take place in our economy cannot survive in the market environment. This is the first given; the second given is that a majority or a substantial part of economic activities employ obviously more staff than is actually needed. These two theses accepted by both parties in the reform polemics indicate one thing: overemployment must be trimmed if all ineffective production is to be eliminated. It is on purpose that I speak of production, because I am not certain that it would include whole enterprises. Herein lies an enormous task of the central bodies. They should help to save the remainder after the trimming, or better said, after the reduction in the number of superfluous staff or after the termination of some economic activities, i.e., they should enable the one-half, one-third, or most of the enterprise to survive. I hope that the center will do this. Unfortunately, it will no longer be the federal center, the republics now have the concession to do it. Of course, I have no idea whether or not they will do it well.

[Sekera] Some economists support a concept opposite to the restrictive reform, namely, an expansive version aimed at supporting potential development programs. The market pressure would be temporarily replaced by a selective policy from the center combined with pressure to eliminate ineffective production. Realistically considered, the danger must not be overlooked that one could slip into the old habits of redistribution, that the invested resources could be wasted on maintaining ossified structures in production and sustaining ineffective management, and that the expected pressures from above demanding necessary changes would eventually soften to the same degree as they have done many times before. The possible advantage is seen in achieving the required competitiveness without any dramatic situations, without destruction, and with smaller losses. Do you not believe that the attractiveness of this variant will grow along with the increasingly conflicting nature of the situation?

[Klaus] I have repeatedly rejected this idea. But if I may still add something: I would like to say that I believe this question to be absolutely incorrectly phrased. It disregards one of the main economic principles, namely, the consistent differentiation of the dimension of time. It is a consistent differentiation between what is a short-term goal and what is a medium-range or a long-term goal.

In the past 10 years, I have probably written more critical evaluations and reviews than anybody else in this country, and my standard argument has always been this: The author does not sufficiently differentiate the time dimension of the problem, and in the entire text the short-term and the long-term considerations are intermingled, hence the argument loses any sense. Now, we hit it. If the time dimension is carefully differentiated, then the dilemma "restrictive versus expansive" does not occur. Of course, for us, the expansive or developmental policy is the fundamental one, but we understand the developmental policy as an attempt to reinforce the supply side with a new investment policy. These are things whose effects manifest themselves after thousands of prerequisites, conditions, etc. are satisfied in the course of many years. However, our task is a short-term one, and we must restrain to the utmost all the inflationary spirals, and therefore, there is nothing left but to use restrictive macroeconomic policy. If we consistently differentiated between the short-term and the long-term

goals, we would see that there is no contradiction, and the question actually looks different.

[Sekera] We all know that in the absolute majority of cases, it is impossible for our enterprises by their own strength alone to become competitive entities in the European and even in the world context. We need foreign capital. Like everything else we deal with, the use of it in Czechoslovakia has two sides: a positive one and a speculative one. On the postive side are the financial means, experience, management, and marketing capabilities, all of which we need, and on the negative side are the risks resulting from speculation, the cheap submission of national values to foreign hands, and perhaps the hard-to-define danger of subordinating our national economic interests to the interests of foreign investors, or as the case may be of the mammoth supernational companies. Do you believe that these risks are minor?

[Klaus] I believe, it is unquestionably known that I do not overestimate foreign capital, foreign assistance, or foreign investments. The opposite is true, I know well that in most cases we must help ourselves, and that the external aid is only an addition to the internal efforts. I repeated this many times. On the other hand, I believe that interweaving domestic and foreign capital is in today's world such a matter of fact issue that, in some instances, any discussion of it would be futile. Hence, considerations of giving up of something that is a part of the national property is out of place. If someone is willing to keep an enterprise from closing down and to take part in its transformation into something that produces something of value, then I see it as selling out national problems rather than national assets. The interests of foreign investors certainly are not altruistic, and there is not the slightest reason for them to be. No doubt they are coming with a vision of profit. I believe, however, that a great majority of those who come do not come with a vision of short-term profits—those are the bad ones—but the majority come here with a vision of long-term profits.

[Sekera] I would like to draw attention to the fact that many Czechoslovak citizens feel that something like national interest exists after all; for example, the interest to retain certain branches, trademarks, and types of production or to give support to certain regions. Or has the protection of such interests become an anachronism in the world?

[Klaus] This is an interesting question. You spoke about retaining certain types of production and trademarks, and then you spoke about regions. I would draw a strict dividing line between the two. In my opinion, there cannot be a national interest to preserve a certain type of production, trademark, etc., perhaps with the exception of a few cases—it would simply be lunacy, for example, if we wanted to let someone take over the pilsner beer trademark, and I do not think that anyone would come up with that idea. Every country will probably have a few historical trademarks, products, and commodities, not necessarily the most profitable ones, which it will be interested in retaining. As for individual types of production, I believe that it is not in the national interest to keep them at any price. I believe, on the other hand, that we must have an interest in regions, and it is quite evident to me that the government will implement a certain regional policy.

[Sekera] The implementation of the reform is closely associated with our political development. As is apparent from the processes taking place within the Civic Forum, you seek to ensure adequate support for the reform blueprint and for the strategy of energetic action by shifting the political point of gravity further to the right. The fewer than two years that separate us from the next elections are, however, too short a time for the potential positive results of the reform to make themselves felt. Quite the contrary, it can be taken for granted that these two years will be a period of severe impact on the population. What is your political calculation?

[Klaus] Two things are involved here. The first thing is that I must ask whether the task I have set for myself is feasible or not, even though I must say that we usually do not choose our roles in life. What we do is not, most of the time, cool, premeditated calculation planned long in advance. In other words, if we do not want to sit somewhere in the back and wait to see how the situation will evolve, if we do not want to sit on the fence, as so many people in our country are doing at present, if we do not want to watch with glee the collapse of social guarantees to then be able to take the lead as an unwavering hero, if we simply do not want to behave in a cowardly way, we must accept the role that the situation has placed in our way and try to execute this role the best we can. I have no doubt that if there were some distinctly strong politician who would want to lead, shape, build, and guide a political party that would set itself the clear objective of transforming our society and economy in a direction that is probably desired by the majority of us, nothing would be more ideal for me than to stand in the shadow of this man and devote myself fully to the technicalities and nuances of the economic reform. That role would surely be far easier for me, and my life, too, would be far simpler than it is now. I must say that, unfortunately, there is no such person around, and this forces me into a role that deprives me of time, peace, and all kinds of other things. I think, however, that there is no other solution. It goes without saying that I do not behave as though I was playing some game and that I am not leaving myself an open back door. And because I am not doing it, I am fully aware of the risks the future developments can bring for me and everyone around me.

[Sekera] You are obviously convinced that the complicated economic and social situation is politically manageable.

[Klaus] I am extremely pragmatic, and I keep my feet firmly on the ground. If I did not think this, I would not be able to do what I do.

[Sekera] What about developments within the Civic Forum?

[Klaus] It is apparent from what I said that it is necessary to establish an unequivocal and clearly oriented political force. I am doing everything I can to ensure that such a political force is established. I thought for a long time that it would be possible for this political force to be the Civic Forum, a force from which—of course—the extremist husk would be peeled off on whatever side and for whatever reasons, and that the vast majority within the Civic Forum would play this role. I have to admit that recent developments have disabused me of this certainty. I am beginning more and more to consider it highly probable that the Civic Forum will separate into two elements that will come to an absolutely rock solid agreement and will form a coalition before the elections or, on the other hand, will form a preliminary plan to enter into a postelection coalition.

[Sekera] Allow me, in conclusion, to ask a rather more general question. According to some obviously not very insignificant opinions, it is our hapless national habit to go—so to speak—"from trench to trench," that is, from one extreme position to another. For example, from all-embracing and bizarre collectivism to extreme individualism, from an idiotic planning mania to limitless faith in the infallibility of self-regulating processes, from an omnipotent state to denouncing everything in the economy that bears its seal, and so on. To put it simply, the pendulum has swung from one extreme position to another. If one extreme collapses, is it guaranteed that genuine success will be found in another?

[Klaus] Your comparison with the pendulum is very pretty. As far as swinging from one position to another is concerned, I am certain that—in this sense—my points of view are either misunderstood or are deliberately distorted. I do not mean by your newspaper, but by other newspapers. This is sad. Nevertheless, I am endeavoring to outline my points of view more than anyone else in this country. It is possible that they are being deliberately misunderstood or distorted.

Since we are using the pendulum as an illustration, for us to move from one extreme to somewhere else, we have to give this pendulum a very strong push. This is the point of my approach. I would say that—in this very connection—we have to differentiate between actual swinging from extreme to extreme and the unequivocal nature of our aims and arguments. For me to actually move the pendulum one centimeter to the right, I have to shift it at least two kilometers by the force of my arguments. This is not understood properly in our country. There are still considerations on the theme Klaus-Friedmann, Klaus-Thatcher, and Klaus-I do not know what. If I want to shift the pendulum to the right, of course I cannot use more or less left-wing arguments or arguments presented by economists and politicians linked to state interventionism. I use arguments oriented toward the required motion. However, I am not saying anything about the final point, that is, where and when the pendulum should be stopped. This is a severe oversimplification that I have to explain again and again. Absolutely different issues are involved. I can come to a compromise in reality, but I cannot come to it in an idea. I would like to quote the populist American philosopher Erich Hoffer here. He expressed a very nice concept: It is impossible to think clearly under vague conditions....

Ministries 'Ambiguous' About Soviet Transit

AU2102085591 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 16 Feb 91 p 3

[Richard Huk report: "Transferring Soviet Troops"]

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet units from Germany is obviously threatening our Republic with something very unpleasant. We gained this impression from Wednesday's [13 February] news conferences at the Federal Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs.

"So far, we have not received any request from Germany to discuss this issue," said Foreign Ministry Press Spokesman E. Lansky. He stated specifically that no official request has been brought up. Apparently, the German railroad company has already informally approached the Czechoslovak Ministry of Transportation. The Soviet Army's transit across Czechoslovakia would be technically feasible; it would take approximately four years at a rate of four to six trains per day, and the CSFR would receive around 900 million Deutsche marks in return. As E. Lansky said, various ideas are being presented on whether and how to implement the transfer.

One thing, however, is certain—the transit of Soviets across Czechoslovak territory is being discussed. Officially, there is no problem; the Foreign Ministry refuses to discuss it and refers journalists to the Defense Ministry. In reply to a question from SVOBODNE SLOVO on whether he can in any way comment on the recent statement made by Defense Minister L. Dobrovsky that the Soviet Army could resolve the withdrawal issue, regardless of Czechoslovakia's opinion, the diplomatic service spokesman said: "Minister Dobrovsky can say what he wants. You had better ask him what he meant by that."

On the same day our editor turned to Defense Ministry Press Spokesman P. Tax with a question about the kind of measures the Defense Ministry is preparing in case Soviet troops are forcibly transferred across the CSFR. "This is an issue more for the Foreign Ministry staff," replied the military spokesman, and he remarked that the official Czechoslovak point of view does not exclude the possibility of foreign units being transferred from the middle of this year. P. Tax did not provide any information that we had demanded from the military intelligence service regarding the whole affair.

The problem of 400,000 Soviet soldiers a stone's throw away from us is being tossed about like a hot potato by the Foreign and Defense Ministries. Their enigmatic

silence lends credence to the view that the transit issue has, in essence, already been decided upon, and the ambiguous statements made by officials raise the alarming issue of whether we are interested in the promises of 900 million Deutsche marks or whether Czechoslovakia can simply not afford to reject the expected request from the Soviet Union or Germany or, as the case may be, from both of them together.

Recent figures from the Institute for Public Opinion Research indicate that 40 percent of CSFR inhabitants are against the idea of a Soviet transfer across our territory, while 50 percent are not, in principle, against it under specific conditions.

Calfa on Slovak Government Federal Assembly Stand

LD2002203791 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by reporter Stanislav Benda from the 13th joint session of the Federal Assembly in Prague on 20 February—recorded; Calfa responds in Slovak]

[Text] [Benda] After 0900, the deputies carefully studied the daily press, and now they are in discussion about the government draft bill on nonjudicial rehabilitation. Taking into account yesterday's session, these preceedings have now been going on for several hours. How does Marian Calfa, prime minister of the federal government, evaluate the discussion?

[Calfa, in Slovak] Naturally I have been following it very carefully, from the beginning to the end of yesterday's session of the Federal Assembly, and it basically met my expectations. A huge range of opinions has emerged on how the amendments should look from those extremes that would extend it to an absolutely unbelievable level—which would clearly be difficult to realize—right down to the proposals from the other side, which are very restrictive and limiting, and views have emerged that this should not be adopted.

[Benda] How do you think today's voting will be affected by the negative standpoint of the Slovak Government?

[Calfa] The standpoint of the Slovak Government yesterday morning is quite surprising as this draft bill, which was put to the Federal Assembly in October 1990, was approved by the Slovak Government. A representative of the Slovak Government participates in the sessions of the Legislative Council: Deputy Prime Minister Zaszlos. He had a sufficient amount of information. The federal government has twice concerned itself with this bill, or rather its discussion in the Federal Assembly. Present at the federal government session were representatives of both republican governments—the Slovak and the Czech—and they never made any points on the material, and I hope they conveyed what they heard at the federal government session to their own governments. It is therefore difficult to answer why the Slovak Government took a totally opposite stand to its previous stand, only a few hours before the Federal Assembly session.

[Benda] It will surely have an influence?

[Calfa] According to the discussion so far, the deputies have noted this, and it will certainly influence the way in which the majority in the Federal Assembly—which will then vote on it—will be formed.

[Benda] Thank you very much.

Rychetsky Comments on Land Restitution Bill

AU1802170991 Prague CTK in English 2247 GMT 14 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky told CTK here today that there has not been a situation since February 1948 analogous to that which occurred in the Federal Assembly when discussing a bill on extrajudicial rehabilitations.

The Constitutional-and-Legal Committees of the Federal Assembly (parliament) rejected neither the bill nor the amendments. Nor did they unite on any stand thus having nothing to submit to the parliament's session next week. Rychetsky said that under the rules of procedure the unchanged text of the bill should be submitted for plenary discussion. All the amendments heard in the committees have lost their legal effect and must be submitted to a joint session of the parliament's two houses again.

Rychetsky said that in restitutions it is impossible to compensate emigrants before February 1948, when communists seized power, and apply restitutions to legal persons as well (namely churches). Part of the properties has already been returned to churches and others will be returned to them in another legal way.

Asked about the government's move in case the Federal Assembly approves the bill, irrespective of its stand and the economic situation in the country, he said the government would have to respect the law. He pointed out in this connection that usual parliamentary mechanisms are missing in Czechoslovakia such as a referendum or the right of veto, i.e., the right of the president not to sign an approved law and return it to the parliament for a new discussion and vote, the deputy prime minister said.

On Czechoslovak television tonight, Rychetsky said that concern about the long duration of restitution in relation to the original owners turned out to be the main reason why U.S. Ambassador Shirley Temple Black and British Ambassador Laurence O'Keefe called on him this week. He said in this context that capital from these and other Western countries would in such a case not be interested in penetrating into conditions of insecure ownership. He commented on the bill on extrajudicial rehabilitations

that Czechoslovakia has no other possibility but to keep to the agreed firm framework.

He said he was convinced that the result of the talks the government held with representatives of all political groups in parliament will be accepted also by both parliament houses.

President Vaclav Havel commented in a television interview tonight that despite the problems arising between the government and the parliament, concerning the bill on extrajudicial rehabilitation, the bill might yet be passed in the form that will suit all sides.

Meciar Comments

LD2002162791

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1730 GMT on 19 February broadcasts a six-minute announcer-introduced recorded interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Alica Bielikova. Place and date of interview are not given.

The announcer says that the issue of the day is the government's draft bill on out-of-court rehabilitations, which the Federal Assembly began discussing in the afternoon. "The Slovak Government at its session today adopted a position on the bill in question, including its amendments. It does not agree with it and recommends that it be returned for more work."

Bielikova begins by asking: "Mr. Prime Minister, here is point number four, in which the government demands an alternation of the specific conditions for Slovakia in the form of the Slovak National Council law. Do you think that this will be acceptable?"

Meciar answers: "Well, it has to be, otherwise it would not be right. A legal dualism existed in this country until 1950. Hungarian law was valid on our territory and the Austrian one in the Czech lands. It is therefore necessary to take into consideration that there were different ways of acquiring ownership rights, and, also, the relations of ownership must be examined in different ways. There was also a different system of registration of ownership relations.

"Secondly, we had something here that they did not have in the Czech lands. We had arizacia [confiscation of Jewish property under nazism by supporters of the ruling regime]. We just cannot go so far today as to rehabilitate arizatorov [those who received land confiscated from the Jews]. This is our specific condition, and we have to come to terms with it. There is also a third thing and that is that after 1948, development in Slovakia took a different course than that in the Czech lands. The difference was that it was not the Communist Party that won but the Democratic Party. A political measure was adopted at that time that would be a punishment for those then looked upon as petty-bourgeois elements—my father too was one of them—whose property had been nationalized. The takeover of property began already at the beginning of the 1950's without different legal amendments. This is also our specific condition which is not in the bill."

Meciar then gives examples from the past of different conditions in Slovakia and expresses the opinion that the different developments in the two republics will complicate considerably the whole matter of rehabilitation.

Meciar disagrees with the idea of spending huge sums of money to compensate emigrants, who would probably not use it to invest or start up businesses in Czechoslovakia. He stresses that Czechoslovakia does not have the money anyway. "Where will we get the money? Who will we swindle? We will give a hope and then will not pay. Who will pay for it? Our children? I am worried that even our grandchildren will have to pay. Simply, you cannot redress the past. The past was cruel, but it was what it was, and we can put right only what we can put right. We cannot reconstruct the relations that existed in the past, and the atonement understood in this way is not quite possible. We want to correct mistakes if it is within the capabilities of the state, if it is not at variance with the interests of the population." He then says that the Slovak Government agreed to compensate also those who were affected because of political, religious, or racial and national reasons, but rejects the idea of compensating those who emigrated for economic or personal reasons.

In response to the final question on how he thinks the situation in the legislature will develop, Meciar expresses the wish that the bill will be returned to the government for redrafting, which he believes is only fair.

Party Establishes Defense, Security Commission

AU2002103291

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 15 February on page 3, under the headline "The Czechoslovak People's Party: There Was No Ultimatum," carries a 250-word "(PEN)"-signed report on a news conference held by Czechoslovak People's Party (CSL) Chairman Josef Lux. Among other things, the news conference dealt with the establishment of a CSL Defense and Security Commission. When questioned about it, Lux said that "the Civic Forum and political parties in the West also have similar commissions." He claimed that the commission's work serves the party's deputies in the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council and that "representatives from the Defense Ministry and the Federal Information Service (FIS), with whom we have discussed this issue several times, have very positively evaluated this activity. They even want to be regularly briefed on the conclusions reached by the commission."

The same newspaper on 16 February on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "A CSL Intelligence Service," carries a 900-word Jan Subert report on reaction to Lux's statement. According to the report, Defense Ministry Spokesman Colonel P. Tax stated on 15 February that

"the Army has never cooperated with the CSL Defense and Security Commission, has never maintained contacts with it, and does not intend to do so in the future." FIS Spokesman F. Starek said that Lux's statement is "at variance with reality," and Interior Ministry Spokesman Martin Fendrych also said that there have been "no official contacts" between the CSL and the Interior Ministry. He added that the ministry "strictly adheres to the principle of impartiality."

Subert's report states that Colonel Engineer Zbynek Cerovsky has been appointed chairman of the CSL Defense and Security Commission and also of the CSL Information and Documentation Department whose purpose is "the collection, compilation, and analysis of all accessible information, among other things, from the defense and security spheres."

The ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY correspondent concludes his report by saying that if the activity of the CSL Defense and Security Commission and Information and Documentation Department is merely "playing at soldiers," it is this party's internal affair. However, if it is not a game, this does not apply. Subert finishes by stating that the establishment of such an intelligence center is "very dangerous."

Seven Political Parties Draft Common Platform

AU2002141191 Prague CTK in English 2116 GMT 18 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 18 (CTK)—A demonstration for "debolshevization of society" is being called in Prague by a group of seven political parties and movements for February 25, the 43rd anniversary of the communist takeover in Czechoslovakia.

Representatives of the seven parties and groups, which describe themselves as parties of the democratic right, told a press conference that they are drafting a common policy platform which ought to be ratified by the parties' leaderships in three weeks. They include the Liberal Democratic Party (LDS), the Christian-Democratic Party (KDS), and the Prague Council of Civic Forums (PROF).

LDS Chairman Emanuel Mandler affirmed that these parties' positions are close and differ only in details. Milan Kondr, chairman of the PROF and deputy chairman of the Civic Forum (OF), said that the PROF decided to support the rightist program.

The organizers demand the resignation of former Communists from top posts, breaking of information monopoly, and recognition of the third resistance (anticommunist, from 1948 to 1989). As far as the law on rehabilitation is concerned, the KDS calls for the restitution of property in kind.

[Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 19 February on page 2 carries a 350-word "pen"-signed report on the above news conference. The report notes that the "seven parties and movements making up the democratic right" are, next to the LDS, the KDS, and the PROF, the Club of Nonaligned Activists, the Club of Democratic Right-Civil Liberties Movement, the Civic Democratic Alliance, and the Republican Union-Free Bloc.]

Foreign Firms Invited To Bid on Nuclear Plant

AU2102124291 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 18 Feb 91 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Emphasis on Security"]

[Text] Recently, foreign firms have been invited to submit tenders for the construction of a new nuclear power plant in Czechoslovakia. According to information provided to a CTK reporter by J. Novak, Czech Electric Power Plants (CEZ) department chief, after the first and second units of the Temelin nuclear power plant are finished, the construction of two new units is planned. In the bid for a contract, the CEZ strongly stresses that nuclear safety [measures] should meet the levels required after 2000. Requests for bids for a contract have been sent to the following companies: General Electric, Westinghouse, and Bechtel from the United States, Japanese Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Italian Ansalde, French-German Nuclear Power International, and, furthermore, to ABB [expansion unknown] and to the Skoda Plzen concern.

Daily on Alienation Between Leadership, People

AU2002141791 Prague CTK in English 1636 GMT 15 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 15 (CTK)—An article in "MLADA FRONTA DNES" suggested today that there is little contact between Czechoslovak leaders, former dissidents, and the country's people, and that this is the result of abnormal conditions under the Communist regime.

If the dissidents, now leaders, "are to live up to the responsibility they assumed, they must come out of their ghetto and organize a dialogue which they demanded when they were still persecuted." The dialogue has not taken place. Most citizens do not know the dissidents just as they did not know them before.

Martin Komarek wrote that during the totalitarian regime the dissidents were a closed group, not of their own choice, and this "ghetto lived its own life." "The walls of the ghetto were taken over to the Prague Castle and government offices." Mistrust, blind confidence, sympathy, and antipathy of the closed society became reflected in Czechoslovak politics.

The paper said that Czechoslovak President and cofounder of the Charter 77 human rights movement Vaclav Havel, who was imprisoned several times, is seen at home to speak "rather like an agreeable and nice foreigner."

The daily noted that ordinary people, who do not have the twenty-year experience of the ghetto, "long for normal society in which politicians play a somewhat more modest role than in our country, ... They want a new chance." After years of deprivation, philosophy based on performance, managerial, and business abilities is very close to us. The cultural values that the dissidents cherished are dead," the paper said.

Dobrovsky Opposes Removal of Soviet Memorial

AU1902101191

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 12 February on pages 1 and 2 carries a 500-word "ds, dam"-signed report entitled "Will Jan Zizka Come Next?" The article reviews reactions to the decision of the authorities in the fifth municipal district of Prague to remove from the pedestal in Prague-Smichov a Soviet tank installed there in 1945 as a memorial to the liberation of Prague by the Soviet Army. According to this decision, the tank will be offered for sale in an auction and sold to the highest bidder. The article quotes, among others, Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky as saying that his first reaction was "laughter" but that this laughter soon abandoned him "because I fear that children will now be taught that Prague was liberated by the Americans." Dobrovsky argues that "memorials bearing witness to what really happened" should not be destroyed. RUDE PRAVO also mentions that the Smichov authorities' decision was "condemned" by Vitaliy Churkin, spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at a news conference in Moscow on 11 February. Churkin reportedly drew attention to the 140,000 Soviet soldiers who died while liberating Czechoslovakia and to the fact that "history can be rewritten but not undone."

Finance Ministry Amends Import Surcharge

AU2002112291 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Feb 91 p 1

["(DO)"-signed report: "The Import Surcharge Anew"]

[Text] The 20 percent import surcharge has caused a great deal of argument since its introduction. The federal government has also discussed its implementation several times. As we have now found out, the Federal Finance Ministry—in cooperation with other bodies—has drafted a proposal for a new import surcharge decree. Imports for manufacturing consumption and goods imported by individuals (from tourism)—that is, goods designated for personal consumption only—will be exempt from it. This also concerns cars, regardless of whether they are new or used models. Only customs duty will be imposed on these imports for personal consumption. Of course, if imported cars are intended for a sales organization, the import surcharge will continue to apply. Imports characterized as gifts, an inheritance, and so on should also be exempt from this surcharge. The new draft decree will now be submitted to the government's legislative commissions and will then be made public. The Federal Finance Ministry expects that it will be implemented in practice within approximately one month.

Statistical Data on Income, Spending in 1990

AU2002095691

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 14 February on page 1 publishes a chart (four by two inches) illustrating the development of "aggregate personal earnings and expenditures" in Czechoslovakia in 1990. The chart, which is based on "preliminary" Federal Statistical Office data, shows that aggregate personal earnings increased from 483.0 billion korunas [Kcs] in 1989 to Kcs526.1 billion in 1990, which represents an increase of "fewer than 9 percent." Personal expenditures increased from 465.9 billion in 1989 to 524.4 billion in 1990, which is an increase of 12.5 percent. The difference between earnings and expenditures was thus "a mere Kcs1.7 billion."

Living Costs Show 45 Percent Increase

LD1802170391 Prague CTK in English 1641 GMT 18 Feb 91

[Text] Prague, Feb 18 (CTK)—The January 1991 index of living costs in Czechoslovkia was roughly 45 per cent higher than in the same month of 1990, the Federal Statistical Office said in a report today.

As much as 24 per cent of the increase was caused by the liberalization of prices which has been in effect since the beginning of 1991.

The number of unemployed reached 119,500 on January 31, 1991, 40,500 persons or 51.2 per cent more than at the end of December 1990. The unemployment rate has thus reached 1.5 per cent of all inhabitants able to work.

There were 58,900 persons looking for jobs in the Czech Republic (1.1 per cent) and 60,600 in Slovakia (2.4 per cent). At the end of January 66,600 persons received unemployment benefits out of whom 34,800 in Slovakia which accounts for about one-third of the total population.

At the same time there were 58,400 jobs available in Czechoslovakia, Slovakia accounting for only 9,700 of the total.

The January 1991 index of consumer prices was 45.6 per cent above the last year's figure, 25.8 per cent being caused by the liberalization of prices. The highest price increases were noted in public catering establishments and foodstuffs while the price increase for services was lower.

Government Terminates 'Radio Ultra' Operations

LD1602105191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 16 Feb 91

[Text] The director of the Prague Radio Communications Inspectorate has decided to terminate immediately the operation of the independent Radio Ultra, formerly known as Radio Stalin, which went on the air yesterday afternoon. The decision to terminate its operation was made on the grounds that these are transmission facilities for which no authorization was issued, and the operation of private broadcasting stations is not permitted under current radio broadcasting legislation.

Radio Ultra's manager, Pavel Hronek, said that the operation of the radio station did not break the law, because the current telecommunications law does not expressly prohibit the idea of independent broadcasting.

OF Right-Wing Faction Opposed to Umbrella Body

AU2002140991 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Feb 91 p 2

[Text] The Interparliamentary Club of the Democratic Right [MKDP] proposes to the Extraordinary Civic Forum [OF] Assembly [convened for 23 February] to constitute within the OF a political party in the sense of the conclusions of the January OF assembly and to define the OF movement merely as a "form and name of a political coalition." MKDP members deem the formation of an OF umbrella committee unnecessary.

Spacek Comments on Stock Exchange Establishment

AU2002095391 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 14 Feb 91 p 2

[Report on interview with Czech Finance Minister Karel Spacek by Petr Stepanek; place and date not given: "A Step Toward the Stock Market"]

[Excerpts] The stock exchange will become an important element of the financial market in our country. The Czech government discussed a draft law on it yesterday. Therefore, we asked Czech Finance Minister Karel Spacek for more information. [passage omitted]

We assume, he said, that the stock exchange will be a legal entity and will operate nationwide. It should be organized as a corporation trading in stocks, bonds, foreign exchange bills, foreign currencies, and gold. [passage omitted]

Authorization to establish the stock exchange will be required from the Federal Finance Ministry in agreement with the Czechoslovak State Bank and the appropriate republican finance ministries, depending on where the stock exchange will be situated. At the moment, it is envisaged that one will be in Prague with another in Bratislava. They will issue their own registered stocks with a nominal value of 100,000 korunas. Foreign legal entities may have a maximum one-third stake in the basic stock. The minimum sum for the obligatory reserve fund is 25 percent of the basic stock. The law also determines the obligations and rights of stock exchange bodies as well as who may operate on the stock exchange. [passage omitted]

We expect that we will require such an institution at the end of the year, because stock exchange activity will bring about (if it is approved) voucher privatization. Vouchers would be exchanged for stocks that could be traded. The first element of the financial market would, in fact, be established. This law could be adopted by the middle of the year, and the stock exchange could begin operating more fully sometime at the beginning of next year. Of course, operating a stock exchange means that staff have to be trained. We have to rely on assistance from abroad here. A similar draft will also have to be drafted for establishing a commodity market.

Ivan Dejmal Appointed Czech Environment Minister

LD2002234391 Prague CTK in English 2021 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 20 (CTK)—Ivan Dejmal, 45, was appointed new minister of the environment of the Czech Republic today.

"I must make the ministry function again immediately", he told journalists noting that it has been without a minister for almost a month.

Former minister of the environment, Bedrich Moldan, was relieved of his post on January 24, 1991 after it was found that he had a file in former secret police records as a possible agent.

Asked about his opinion on nuclear power plants, Dejmal noted that Czechoslovakia now produces 27 to 29 per cent of electricity in nuclear power plants. The question is if it is to continue its nuclear program or not because it is a very risky way of producing electricity, he said.

Dejmal added the ministry will try to seek a solution how to get the output of 2,000 megawatts that would be needed from nuclear power plants in 2000 from other sources. He thought the possibility to install combined heating and electricity production in the existing heating-stations "promising".

Ivan Dejmal was born on October 17, 1946 in Usti Nad Labem, North Bohemia. He studied at the University of Agriculture in Prague, majoring in agricultural landscaping but was expelled in 1970 for his political activity.

He was detained in January 1970 and sentenced to two-year imprisonment. He did not finish his studies until 1990.

In 1974-76 Dejmal again served a two-year sentence for his political attutudes during his compulsory military service. He was active in the opposition against the

communist regime, and his work in the Charter 77 human rights group was focused on the environment. He co-edited the Samizdat magazine "ECOLOGICAL BULLETIN" and helped to organize campaigns against the most blatant cases of ecological damage. Dejmal has been active in the Christian Democratic Party. Since March 1990, he has been working at the Czech Ministry of the Environment. Ivan Dejmal is married and has two daughters.

Slovak National Council 14 Feb Session Reviewed

AU2002113291 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Feb 91 pp 1,2

[Antonie Vymazalova, Stefan Hrcko report: "Parliament Ill-Disposed Toward Culture"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— The start of yesterday's third day of the 10th meeting of the Slovak National Council [SNR] was delayed by one hour by an extraordinary morning session of the SNR Presidium (we learned in the lobbies that it dealt, among other issues, with the Tatragate affair [involving the alleged sale of the High Tatra to a U.S. company]). The main part of yesterday's deliberations was devoted to two draft laws concerning culture.

The first of them—the government-sponsored draft of an SNR law on the state culture fund—was introduced by Ladislav Snopko, minister of culture of the Slovak Republic. The fund's objective is to extend support to the development of culture and to initiate cultural activities, programs, and initiatives of importance throughout society in the Slovak Republic, on national as well as local levels. [passage omitted] The deputies' debate focused on Article 3 of the law, which concerns the generation of the fund's resources. [passage omitted] In the end, none of the proposals for endowing the fund with a fixed proportion of the state budget passed. Although the deputies finally approved the law (100 deputies voted for the law, 2 against it, and 9 abstained), there is a danger that the state culture fund will remain without a penny.

L. Snopko also introduced the government-sponsored draft of an SNR law on public cultural events, which replaces the ominous authorization procedures of the past. [passage omitted] Under the law, the organizer will only have to report a cultural event beforehand to the local self-administration body. The community will, however, be able to ban an event if the event endangers public order, violates a copyright, etc. The government proposed that communities also be able to ban events that endanger morality or that could provoke a public scandal by their contents. [passage omitted] Deputies Miroslav Dziak-Kosicky (Public Against Violence movement), Eduard Barany (Party of the Democratic Left), and Juraj Plesnik (Party of the Democratic Left) criticized the fact that this provision could be misused and proposed that it be omitted. The Slovak legislature accepted their recommendation. It passed the SNR law on public cultural events with 74 votes in favor, 16 against, and 15 abstentions. The law will go into force on 1 April 1991.

The deputies then elected professional judges and agreed that [Slovak-born] Cardinal Jozef Tomko [from the Vatican] should address the Slovak legislature during his forthcoming visit.

We learned from reliable sources that, during an extended smoking break, the SNR Presidium met with representatives of the Tatra Mountains Corporation (one of the protagonists in the Tatragate affair).

The late afternoon finally saw the start of the long-awaited debate on current social problems. The first speaker, Deputy Vladimir Sladek (Public Against Violence movement), spoke about the critical situation of the Slovak press. The daily PRACA may be the only Slovak newspaper to survive unless the 22 percent sales tax is lowered, he said. [passage omitted] At the time of our newspaper's going to press, the debate continued. The 10th SNR meeting is expected to end today.

Slovak Soldiers' Association Protests Criticism

AU2102090191 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Feb 91 p 3

["(PA)"-signed report: "We Are Not Bringing Politics Into the Army"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Association of Slovak Soldiers [ASV] issued a statement through the Public Information Service yesterday. The following is a quote from that statement:

It is puzzling that certain circles described the ASV as nationalistic and disruptive before any information about it had been made public. The ASV's activity is not oriented toward any nation or nationality, but we will defend the national and human rights of Slovak soldiers in harmony with our own and international laws and documents.

We emphatically protest against accusations of breaking up the Army and the state. Nothing of the kind is apparent from our policy statement. However, we want—within the framework of the valid laws—to participate in changing our defense policy doctrine and constitutional principles in the interest of implementing just national demands. We categorically reject the accusations that we are bringing politics into the Army's activity. We are a civic special interest association open to all citizens without exception. We affiliate soldiers in active service and in the reserves as well as Army employees who feel native ties toward Slovakia with the aim of fostering Slovak patriotism, which is a prerequisite for federal patriotism. Our activity is not political in nature, and we do not carry it out in barracks.

Statements made by various Czech circles, which traditionally impede every organization of a national character if they cannot control and influence it from Prague, make our activity political.

It is possible to perceive the establishment of the ASV as the first step toward eradicating conditions for the indiscriminate denationalizing of Slovaks in connection with their Army service.

KDH Movement Wants State Treaty

AU2002165691 Prague CTK in English 1640 GMT 16 Feb 91

[Text] Bratislava Feb 16 (CTK)— Leaders of the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) reiterated today that KDH will be the only partner in the ruling Czechoslovak coalition to push for a state treaty between the Czech and Slovak Republics instead of a federal constitution.

Chairman of the movement, Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky told a session of KDH officials that it will demand at a crucial meeting tomorrow that the Czechoslovak federation have "the clear form of a state treaty between two sovereign nations and their republics." The meeting of highest representatives of state bodies and government coalition partners is being called by President Vaclav Havel.

KDH does not accept the view of its two coalition partners, the Czech Civic Forum and the Slovak Public Against Violence, that the country's three constitutions— federal, Czech, and Slovak—should be drafted parallelly in coordination.

Carnogursky said that "the constitutional system and joint state life" of Czechoslovakia should reflect "a consensus of the will of representatives of the Czech and Slovak nations, i.e. the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council (parliaments)." This view has been interpreted as an attempt to bypass the powers of the Federal Assembly, which is to work out the federal constitution.

KDH officials also expressed reservations over the progress of economic reform which was launched in Czechoslovakia at the beginning of this year. They approved a document which said that steps taken under the reform have had "mostly negative results" and that "further decline of the economy is dangerous, will cause social shocks, and can completely paralyze the plans for a democratic renewal of society."

Two weeks ago Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa criticized KDH for voicing objections to the reform although as a coalition partner it voted for the blueprint for economic reform in the federal parliament.

Moravian, Slovak Parties Meet on State Setup

AU2002144491 Prague CTK in English 2142 GMT 18 Feb 91

[Text] Bratislava Feb 18 (CTK)—Chairman of the Moravian Civic Movement Miroslav Richter has told CTK that Moravian and Slovak parties agreed in talks today that the seat of the Czechoslovak federation and the federal bodies should be moved from Prague to Moravia, either Brno or Olomouc.

He said this after talks between representatives of 26 political parties and movements in Moravia and Silesia and politicians representing parties in the Slovak coalition government.

Czechoslovakia is now a federation of two republics, Czech and Slovak, but some political circles in Moravia have recently started calling for autonomy for this eastern region of the Czech Republic which is the central part of Czechoslovakia. Discussion of the possible forms of the state setup and establishment of contacts with the political representation of Slovakia were described as the purpose of today's meeting.

The Moravian party leaders conferred with officials of the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), Public Against Violence (VPN), and the Democratic Party (DS). The talks were held separately with each party, and all took place behind closed doors. Richter headed the delegation of 26 Moravian parties.

KDH Central Secretary Jan Petrik later told CTK that the Moravian representatives and KDH had the same views on the basic principles of Czechoslovakia's setup.

Richter said that the philosophy of the Moravian-Silesian representation and the Democratic Party on the state setup was based on the same sources. Democratic Party Central Secretary Peter Missik said that the DS was opposed to the creation of such a state setup in which any of its parts could draw advantages from being in the majority.

Commenting on talks with VPN Richter said that it was more guarded in its attitudes than for instance KDH, apparently because of VPN's links to the Civic Forum, its election partner. "We agreed in the talks that the political situation should not be destabilized. However, if the Moravian issue is opened fully, we will start from zero on all levels.... We expect that this will be solved with all seriousness. Otherwise this could become explosive," the Moravian representative said.

VPN and KDH are represented on the Federal Czechoslovak Government.

Yugoslav Newspapers View Arms Sales Affair

AU2002111891 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 15 Feb 91 p 3

[Text] Several articles about the Hungarian arms sales appeared in the Yugoslav newspapers of 14 February. The NEDJELNJA DALMACIJA asked why only Hungary was accused of arms sales, when a lot of other states also sold weapons to Croatia and Slovenia.

The aforementioned Croatian newspaper also dealt with the planned visit of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to Hungary and it concluded that the issue of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians would probably be a major issue on the agenda of the future talks. Well before the arms sales scandal, Andras Agoston, chairman of the aforementioned Union, declared that the Croatians of Vojvodina were the natural allies of his organization. According to the NEDJELNJA DALMACIJA, Slobodan Milosevic would never forgive such a statement, and adds that Serbia's president should also answer questions connected with the Vojvodina Hungarians at his talks in Budapest.

Besides, the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians was sharply criticized at the meeting of the Serbian legislature and it was again demanded of the organization to "take a stand in the arms sales affair." In his answer to these accusations, deputy Ferenc Csubela pointed out that the fate of the Vojvodina Hungarians was linked to Yugoslavia and Serbia. Ferenc Csubela firmly denied the accusations according to which he allegedly declared in a radio program that part of Vojvodina should go over to Hungary in case of Yugoslavia's disintegration.

The fact that the security service of the Federal legislature confiscated five guns from deputies coming to the Federal Assembly session shows the tense political atmosphere prevailing in Yugoslavia.

Foreign Ministry Views Eastern European Prospects

AU2002145391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Feb 91 pp 1,6

[Interview with Foreign Ministry State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi by Istvan Zalai; place and date not given: "Is Eastern-Central Europe a Source of Tension?"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] Ferenc Somogyi participated in a recent international roundtable conference organized by the Norwegian Defense Institute in Oslo, in collaboration with NATO. The new security system in Europe was the subject of this conference. This was the first time that a Hungarian Foreign Ministry state secretary had appeared at such a meeting, albeit not in his official status.

[Zalai] The accelerated disintegration of the military organization of the Warsaw Pact scheduled for 1 April makes the following question particularly topical: What security guarantees can the Eastern-Central European countries seek for themselves in this new situation?

[Somogyi] The creation of reliable security guarantees has indeed become a key issue in the countries of this region. At the same time, this does not mean that the abolition of the Warsaw Pact leads to a security vacuum and we should urgently seek answers to the ensuing problems. The Warsaw Pact did not represent a reliable security guarantee for us before either; therefore, our task now is to find our place in the new European security system currently in formation.

[Zalai] How do you foresee this new system?

[Somogyi] An agreement has already been reached concerning the main elements of this new system: The Helsinki Final Act, the Paris Charter, and the first agreements on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe provide the basis of this new structure. The new system would be based on the coordination of the participant countries' interests, rather than on a balance of forces of confronting blocs, and it would be a cooperative security system. [passage omitted]

[Zalai] Does the approach to the European-Atlantic institutions also mean possible NATO membership for Hungary?

[Somogyi] The presence of NATO and the United States in Europe is a factor that strengthens the security of Europe in the long run and, therefore, the creation and expansion of relations with NATO is a natural requirement. Accepting coordination of foreign and domestic policy based on cooperation and implemented within the framework of the EEC is an organic part of our intensive activity of building contacts with the European Community; however, Hungary's membership in NATO is currently not on the agenda. Instead, we must now make use of the opportunities arising from the readiness of the North Atlantic Organization to build new contacts, a readiness that adjusts to the changing world full of new challenges, and we must also develop genuine and constantly increasing security policy partnership relations. This could greatly contribute to our national security, even without systematic relations and direct security guarantees. [passage omitted]

[Zalai] The CSFR-Polish-Hungarian cooperation is one of the special forms of cooperation among the countries in this region, and the summit in Visegrad is an important stage of this cooperation. Are there any attempts to also extend this cooperation to the security sphere?

[Somogyi] According to the Hungarian position—and there is increasing understanding on this matter among the participants—the tripartite cooperation should not cover the security sphere in the classic sense of the word; nor should this cooperation develop into a bloc-like factor or confrontation zone. Similarly to the Pentagonal, this regional cooperation represents a broad joint effort to join Europe on the basis of mutual interests.

[Zalai] Both our bilateral cooperation and cooperation within the Pentagonal affect Hungarian-Yugoslav relations. In the long run, how could the affair of Hungarian arms exports to Croatia affect relations between Budapest and Belgrade?

[Somogyi] It is a fact that, no matter how this affair is treated, the mistaken handling of this affair received a political dimension, contrary to our intentions; however, I honestly believe that this affair will not have a long-lasting harmful effect on Hungarian-Yugoslav relations. [passage omitted]

[Zalai] What does our region look like in the view of Western experts? Is Western Europe willing to accept a bickering Eastern-Central Europe?

[Somogyi] The answer is a clear no. Moreover, some people are even inclined to regard the situation in our region as an obstacle to the positive developments in Europe. It is extremely important for us to make sure that our possible partners, who could play a serious role in implementing and preserving our interests, have a realistic picture about our region. These partners should be aware of the fact that most of the problems are not new, and a progressive solution to these problems requires not only the readiness of the countries in question to come to an understanding and to mutually overcome their prejudices, but also the active support of the European Community. These problems can only be solved in a European way. [passage omitted]

Antall Interviewed on Government Coalition

AU1902124291 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Feb 91 p 4

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "All Ministers Will Stay in Place, for Now"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall still believes that the three government coalition parties should stick together, and he is confident that "the leadership and membership of the Smallholders' Party will be sensible enough to recognize its own interests, as well as the need to preserve this coalition." The prime minister rejects the idea of introducing a minority government, and he believes that the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]—the true representatives of liberalism, according to Antall—would be wary of losing their popularity by joining the government at this stage. Jozsef Antall believes that there has always been a certain dualism in Hungarian intellectual life, and it is a great mistake for us to abuse one another and underestimate one another politically or intellectually. Nevertheless, such practice is still relatively easy to tolerate within intellectual circles or between schools of thought; the introduction of intellectual scheming into everyday politics, however, is detrimental to the nation. The prime minister is prepared to admit that he is weak enough not to select his government members from the ranks of his "enemies," and he also realizes that society finds it difficult to understand the measures taken by this government.

[Pinter] At your introductory program speech in May 1990, you said that there was doubt in this country, but that there was less fear than before. What do you think of that statement today?

[Antall] During the first half of 1990, we still did not know whether it would be possible to change the regime, whether the party state had really collapsed, and whether we could give birth to a parliamentary democracy. Our primary fear was that of a backslide, because the political forces that could have stamped out democratization and independence movements still seemed quite strong. At the moment, doubts and fears center mainly on economic and social issues. The present situation—where we already have to deal with our well-known economic and financial heritage—is burdened by new negative circumstances. I refer to the collapse of this whole region, to economic restructuring, and to our conversion to convertible currency accounts. Some measures are good for politics, but not necessarily for economics. The bases for a backslide have collapsed in Czechoslovakia, Romania, and other countries that I could name. All this has made our political situation more stable, but the same does not apply to our economy, given that we have lost huge markets. During the past few decades, Hungary's industry, agriculture, and trade were organized in a specific way because our country was the member of a military, political, and economic alliance. The alliance has ceased to exist, and the demise of this alliance is bound to have serious consequences for the time being. We wonder whether we will be able to overcome these difficulties. Our fears are everyday fears: How will the family get by? Will there be any jobs? Will I be able to finish what I have started to build? Will I be able to change the car for which I worked so hard? For the next few months, how will pensioners be able to overcome all the difficulties inherent to restructuring?

The Coalition Parties Have To Stick Together

[Pinter] The government coalition was formed on the basis of compromises. In your television statement on Sunday, 10 February, you said that if a government was not made up of a single party, this could be seen from the outside. Hungary soon found out that it is extremely difficult to maintain compromises. Have you had any doubts about the survival of the coalition these last few months?

[Antall] In Western Europe, political parties with far greater differences in outlook and with more contradictory platforms manage to cooperate under a coalition. This is because the basic institutional systems of those countries were already elaborated after World War II. In the West, a social-democratic party can govern along with a Christian-democratic party and a liberal party, without including the extreme right wing or extreme left wing. In the West, however, politicians do not have to

argue about the property system, compensation, or about privatization versus re-privatization. In Hungary, we have to decide on measures that permit the very functioning of our parliamentary democracy, measures furthering the elaboration of a market-oriented system of institutions. The coordination of interests is particularly difficult, not because there are extraordinary differences in opinion between the coalition parties, but because the mounting problems we are facing deal with fundamental issues—regardless of party beliefs. In 1956, political parties could be recreated within days, because they had still existed seven or eight years before, and former politicians were able to come to the fore. The reform communists had Imre Nagy, the social-democrats had Anna Kethly, the smallholders had Bela Kovacs and Zoltan Tildy, traditional churches had Mindszenty, Ravasz, and Ordas, and I could list a number of other influential personalities. By 1988/1989, first-class politicians with party experiences had either died, or were too ill to take on political roles. We had to start from scratch, which is something you should not forget when you blame us for finding it difficult to maintain compromises.

[Pinter] So you do not think that it is the composition of the coalition that is causing tension?

[Antall] Our center-party coalition is made up of parties like the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], which is a political program party with three synthesized schools of thought; the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], which has a definite international outlook and strong social commitments; and the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP], which represents the landed peasantry and the bourgeoisie, in accordance with its old traditions. These parties complement one another well, and they all point in one main direction. Despite all this, there are internal conflicts regarding the ownership issue, for example. Something has to be done to solve these conflicts; however, I would advise you to consider another possible coalition. The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] both see themselves as liberal parties, yet they have diametrically opposing views when it comes to the ownership issue or the compensation bill. We could examine any possible coalition; it would be difficult to guarantee identical points of view on these fundamental issues. I still think that the three current coalition parties should stick together; even if we have to compromise, we still have chances of implementing our program.

[Pinter] If the FKgP continues to be internally divided over its participation in the government, you will find it difficult to preserve the coalition.

[Antall] It would not be tactful on my part, as prime minister and chairman of another party, to take sides concerning the internal divisions of a coalition partner. The FKgP has to sort out its own problem. I am confident that the leadership and membership of the FKgP will be sensible enough to recognize its own interests, as well as the need to preserve this coalition. If the FKgP should come under the leadership of forces who opt for a withdrawal from the coalition, then I will deal with this issue, but it is too early to think about it now. In the radio and the press, I follow various arguments and extremely intelligent words of advice that praise the advantages of a minority government. The radio and the press cite the wonderful examples of Scandinavia and other countries, where nothing is better than a minority government. That is truly a wonderful thing, because the government has even more time to recruit the necessary support for its bills. This really gives parties a wide political arena and room for negotiations, but the handling of crises and the actual governing of the country suffer. In other words, arguments for a minority government definitely enable political analysts and journalists to sharpen their wits, but I am of a different opinion.

Confusing Intellectual Workshops and Political Parties

[Pinter] I acknowledge that you follow the advice of the press with great interest; therefore, it will not have escaped your attention that several analytical articles advise you to consider a coalition with a different composition.

[Antall] I do not know exactly which composition you are referring to.

[Pinter] For example, you could replace the FKgP with the FIDESZ.

[Antall] As far as I know, the FIDESZ has already stated that it does not want to take part in the government under the present circumstances. Given that the FIDESZ has many young members, I am sure that the party would be wary of losing its popularity, it would not be happy to take on the burden of governing. The creation of our self-governing bodies showed us that the FIDESZ was unwilling to rush into any kind of coalition cooperation. Incidentally, I see the FIDESZ as the true representative of liberalism. I see this in their determination, in their professionalism, and in their consequent efforts to maintain their image.

[Pinter] You have consistently rejected the possibility of a grand coalition. Do you think that there could ever be a situation where you would consider such an option?

[Antall] Allow me to refer to Talleyrand: In politics and love, there is no "never" or "always." A politician can rarely say never. For example, as far as British politicians are concerned, nothing lasts forever, except Great Britain's self-interest. In the same way, for a Hungarian politician, Hungary's self-interest is the only thing that can last forever. If you are asking me whether there could ever be a situation whereby the MDF and the SZDSZ would form a two-party government coalition, then my answer is that this is hardly likely. Right from the start, the intellectual circles of these two parties stood quite far away from each other, and they still have not come close enough to give us any great hope of a two-party coalition. Furthermore, I do not think that it is advantageous if the

two greatest parties in a multiparty democracy form a coalition. That goes against the principle of democracy, and it inevitably implies that political confrontations will take place within the government itself, rather than in the National Assembly. All political parties have representatives who base themselves mainly on ideology and other representatives who are more pragmatic. It is a good thing if the latter hold talks with one another. Such cooperation is also advantageous within the National Assembly. At the same time, I think it is a mistake to confuse intellectual workshops and political parties. Within intellectual workshops, there are dedicated groups that base themselves mainly on ideology, but these groups should not be confused with professional political parties.

[Antall] In Hungary, following the period of classical liberalism, it was primarily in the 20th century that two clearly different schools of thought emerged. The roots of the philosophers' and sociologists' circle lead us to the Galilei circle, to civilian radicalism, and to the workers' movement; this trend that had already developed before World War I definitely distinguished itself in Hungarian intellectual life. On the other hand, in literature as well as sociography, a second trend emerged that also worked toward reform: I am thinking of the popular writers' movement, the movement of village researchers, the Christian-social movements, and the national liberal movements. There has always been a certain dualism in Hungarian intellectual life, and it is a great mistake for us to abuse one another and underestimate one another politically or intellectually. Such practice, however, is still relatively easy to accept within intellectual circles or between schools of thought; the introduction of intellectual scheming into everyday politics, however, is detrimental to the nation.

[Pinter] Do you think that the coalition and the opposition parties might conduct more genuine negotiations outside the National Assembly in the future?

[Antall] Following World War II, there was extraparliamentary cooperation in Hungary. At the time, almost all the important parties were members of the coalition, and party leaders would take decisions on many issues during separate negotiations. This kind of solution has advantages as well as disadvantages. Greater contact would be useful—in fact, we might see greater contact in the future—but we must not forget the parliamentary committee, where the faction leaders of the six parties and the independents participate. This committee gives the framework for inter-party cooperation. In itself, the parliamentary committee is not only a forum where procedural points are discussed, it is also a coordinating forum; this is something we always forget. So far, attempts at six-party negotiations have not really achieved very much, not only because of the failures, but also because everyone wanted to avoid any semblance of an agreement. It is somewhat like demonstrations where the water cannons hit the people in the front row, who then try to take a few steps back, and who are subsequently accused of cowardice by the people behind them. Even if there could be an agreement at these six-party negotiations, the participants are afraid of reaching an agreement because the people who were not present at the meeting, or who were at the back, are never satisfied with the results of the negotiations.

There Will Be No Deputy Prime Minister

[Pinter] You have been and continue to be criticized for your choice of ministers, and for the duration of their mandate. At times, you have rejected these criticisms, and at others, you have simply ignored them. What criteria do you base yourself on when you appoint your ministers?

[Antall] It would be easy for me to attach too much importance to the allegations that I select my government members from the ranks of my relatives and friends. As I have told others, I will tell you that there is only government member who used to be my pupil, and who happens to be married to one of my nieces: Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky. Two or three years ago, I did not even know most of my government members. My aim was to find people who knew about the sphere of duty of their particular ministry, people who had a feeling for politics, people whose appointment would be approved by the coalition parties. Most of my government members are to be found in the Hungarian and international "Who's Who?" so it can hardly be said that there is a lack of professionalism in this government. People say that I like to give ministerial posts to politicians who stand close to me. Naturally, phrased in such a way, that does not correspond to reality; however, I am prepared to admit that I am weak enough not to select my government members from the ranks of my enemies, if possible. This very much upsets my critics.

[Pinter] Will there be any further government reshuffles?

[Antall] I am not planning any ministerial reshuffles at the moment.

[Pinter] Do you think you might share some of your duties with one of your government members, if the workload becomes too great?

[Antall] The Constitution does not allow for a deputy prime minister, so I will not infringe upon the Constitution. At the same time, according to the Constitution, the prime minister does have a deputy—namely, the interior minister—and the replacement rule is valid. For more than a century, the interior minister has been the constant deputy of the prime minister in Hungary, and I think this is a very good tradition. I also have to say that the ministers and ministers without portfolio assist me in my duties.

[Pinter] Do you think the ministers without portfolio have settled into the government?

[Antall] Yes, they play an important role in the government. When objections were raised against their appointment, many people did not realize how many ministers without portfolio were needed in a country

that is undergoing a transformation. These ministers either supervise national organizations—like the National Technical Development Committee, the State Audit Office, and so on—or they deal with special temporary tasks, like the reform of the banking system. Each minister without portfolio has a place in the government.

[Pinter] The SZDSZ is preparing an economic crisis program. What do you think of that idea?

[Antall] I am waiting with great anticipation for the SZDSZ's economic program. Until now, I have always heard that only the SZDSZ has such a program, and I was somewhat surprised to hear in Szombathely, in December 1990, that the SZDSZ still had not finished its economic crisis program. I was even more surprised to find out that the SZDSZ only started elaborating this program now. The MDF already had an economic program, the government has published its own program, and at the moment, Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa is elaborating an action program based on our economic program. This action program will also lay down the schedule for the implementation of our program. If you observe our behavior during negotiations on bills, you will notice that we are open to suggestion; we are prepared to make changes in accordance with amendments and proposals put forward by other parliamentary representatives. I would really be happy if the SZDSZ program helped us in our parliamentary work. It is a good thing if every party has a concrete economic program, because this puts the emphasis on professionalism, rather than declarations.

[Pinter] Opinion polls show that while society is losing confidence in the coalition parties, the opposition is enjoying an increasing popularity. What conclusions do you draw from all this?

[Antall] Should I draw conclusions about the activities of opinion poll institutes, or about the government?

[Pinter] I was referring to the government. Why, what difference is there between the two approaches?

[Antall] I do not wish to judge the work of opinion poll institutes, I was just asking. In fact, the government has to carefully study opinion polls, even if they are negative or manipulative. We know that society finds it difficult to understand the measures that we have been forced to take. This is not surprising. If we have accepted this role, we have to count on the decreasing popularity of the government and the government coalition. We learned an important lesson when many people failed to vote during the parliamentary and local elections. These abstentions contribute to my inability to foresee how the popularity of various parties will fare during the next few weeks or months. Nevertheless, I do know that the government's work has to be improved, and that we have no reason to be overly confident. Naturally, we would like to make the public understand that the main principles of the government's policy are correct, and that each measure taken has been in the country's interest. Under the present circumstances, the political forces who have undertaken to carry out these measures cannot expect to see their popularity grow to the detriment of those who only have to criticize.

Visit to Moscow—Probably in March

[Pinter] What trips are you planning, and what visitors are you expecting to receive?

[Antall] The Foreign Ministry is putting together my program at the moment, so I do not know all the details yet. I have now passed the stage of compulsory introductory visits. To stay at home as much as possible, I have tried to reduce my number of visits. The number of invitations is rather high, and this year I would definitely like to travel to Japan and Canada. Last year, I canceled my visits to Israel and Egypt for health reasons. The time is not optimal for these visits right now, unless there is need for a demonstrative move. Mr. Gorbachev has invited me to Moscow, and I may well go there in March. I am not planning any other trips abroad.

[Pinter] Do you think that the public may soon be informed about the government measure taken at Parliament's closed session?

[Antall] Taking all circumstances into account, I have presented my report to the speaker of the House, and the rest is up to the National Assembly.

[Pinter] Reports from abroad tell us that our former prime minister, Miklos Nemeth, is going to be deputy director of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It would be difficult to imagine the bank—and the influential political forces behind it—failing to consult you before making their decision. What are your relations like with Miklos Nemeth?

[Antall] Miklos Nemeth will take up the post of deputy director as an employee of the bank, not as a delegate of the Hungarian Government. He received a personal invitation. Naturally, I did not raise any objections against Miklos Nemeth's appointment. He will have to be neutral in his new position, but I am sure that Hungary will fare well if a Hungarian citizen takes up such a leading position in that bank. Our personal relations are absolutely correct, as is fitting for a predecessor and a successor during a change of regime. I think that Nemeth's political behavior with me proves this point.

Free Democrats Urge Government To Resign

LD2002172291 Budapest MTI in English 1635 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 20 (MTI)—The general public is close to giving a vote of no-confidence in the government. The gap between the government and society has widened unbelievably, Janos Kis, president of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ], the largest opposition party, told a Wednesday press conference. He said that it was not in the country's interests for

the current government to remain in office for an additional three years. Kis said the government should be forced to resign by constitutional, parliamentary means.

The AFD president sees two scenarios for a political change of course. The first, parliamentary one, would involve the governing coalition's majority disappearing in parliament and executive power finding itself in a minority. In the second option, the general public would press for a change, realizing that the only way for the situation to be improved would be through new elections.

Kis added that the opposition could not provoke these changes, but could contribute to them. He stressed that the Free Democrats would not demand for new elections to be called but would make every effort to demonstrate that there is an alternative to the government in office and the form it takes.

Finance Minister Views Economic Prospects

LD2002213491 Budapest MTI in English 1304 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 20 (MTI)—The stabilization of the Hungarian economy can be completed in two years only but a minimal growth can start next year already. An improvement of living standards, however, can only be expected from 1994, according to the programme outlined at a press briefing of Hungarian minister of Finance, Mihaly Kupa on Wednesday.

The press briefing was timed for Wednesday because that is the day the directorial board of the International Monetary Fund is expected to make a decision concerning the request of Hungary for credits, which would serve as an outside source for financing the programme for three years.

The programme is still to be discussed in detail and then it will be submitted to parliament.

When deciding upon the necessary measures, the patience of the population was carefully taken into account as living standards have deteriorated considerably recently.

Kupa called attention to several danges as well. Those compiling the programme were fully aware of the fact that ther was much uncertainty in Eastern European trade and this would have a great influence on the Hungarian economy in future. In case of the situation turning worse, the programme will be re-shaped immediately according to the changes. At present, exports to Eastern Europe in 1991 are estimated relies on market economy being in an advanced state in Hungary. Hungary is the only place in Eastern Europe, where a multilevel banking system and a western-type tax system could develop. The restructuring of production started last year. The programme expects Hungary to become an associated member of the European Communities by 1993.

The entire programme rests on the Hungarian Government's declaration that it will punctually and fully meet the country's debt payment obligations.

In 1991, Hungary's total debt service, including capital and net interest payments, will be 3,950 million USD [U.S. dollars], in 1992, 4,430 million USD, in 1993, 4,310 million USD, and in 1994, 4,700 million USD.

At the same time, the proportion of the debt service in the GDP will gradually decrease. It will be 11.5 per cent in 1991, as compared to 12.5 per cent in 1990, and will shrink to only 10 per cent in 1994.

The process of foreign indebtedness can only slowly be brought to a halt. The current account deficit will probably reach 1,200 million USD this year, after an estimated surplus of 100-150 million USD in 1990.

The program predicts that in 1992, the current account deficit could be cut to 650 million USD, and that in 1993, the current account will break even.

Import liberalization will continue this year, and as a result, the forint will become convertible in the business sphere. Within a short time, an inter-bank foreign exchange market could also be established.

Following this—perhaps this year, even—the obligation of companies to sell hard currency they earn on exports to the National Bank of Hungary will be abolished.

They will be given free disposal of hard currency so earned.

Parallel with this move, Hungarian companies will be admitted to the domestic foreign exchange market.

Finance Minister on Economic Policy Concepts

AU2002110291 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 15 Feb 91 p 5

[Interview with Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa by Zsuzsa Varga; place and date not given: "This Is Already Half Success—There Is Already Trust, But No Money Yet"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] The effects of Mihaly Kupa's economic policy concepts on our everyday life still remain to be seen; however, it is already certain that his personality is dynamic and projects optimism, even if many people suspiciously wonder about the reasons for his optimism.

[Varga] Mr. Minister! Can trust be regarded as capital?

[Kupa] It is commonplace but true: There is no business without confidence, and I want to do business with the people, with domestic and foreign businessmen, with people living on wages and salaries, with young people, and with pensioners. People have the right to know what they get in return for their investments. I regard the issue of confidence a little differently than is customary. Not only measures that improve the general mood or increase the standard of living, but even a harsh but concrete and

understandable economic policy can lead to confidence. Besides, today foreign confidence in Hungary is bigger than our own confidence in ourselves. Many businessmen, bankers, investors, and politicians come to visit me and they see how far Hungary has already come in shifting to a market economy, and they appreciate this. If they have proper business partners—that is, we are able to create orderly ownership relations—the Western economic integration can accelerate considerably. [passage omitted]

[Varga] Our current budget is walking on a razor's edge. What can we expect if some of the taxpayers become insolvent?

[Kupa] In preparing the budget, we must always count on the internal restructuring of our economy, the expected drop in the performance of some sectors and the increase in the performance of other sectors. This issue will become urgent if the processes in 1991 considerably differ from the predicted ones. Unfortunately, this possibility cannot be excluded because of the uncertainty of factors like the exchange rate effects of the Gulf war, the changes in the international markets, and so on. [passage omitted]

[Varga] In your opinion, how long can we maintain wage limits alongside the market conditions? Liberalization affects everything connected with prices, but connected with wages, it affects hardly more than 20 percent of employees!

[Kupa] We must maintain wage regulations as long as state property is of a determining proportion in our economy. Wages should not become a means of direct interference in enterprise activity, but wage increases not covered by performance still represent a danger, and wage regulations are the only means of avoiding this, albeit not the most efficient one. We must also seek other means of coordinating interests in the form of wage increases. [passage omitted]

Adjutant-General Views Civil Disobedience

AU2102093191 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 16 Feb 91 p 7

[Interview with Colonel Robert Pick, adjutant-general to the president, by Irene Szabo; place and date not given: "Should We Fear the Army?"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] The 1990 taxi drivers' blockade may have been the prelude to a civil disobedience movement in Hungary. Indeed, the heavily burdened population—or certain parts of it—may choose to express its disenchantment in different ways. What kind of behavior can we expect from the Armed Forces under such circumstances? Can soldiers be turned against the people?

[Pick] I am a soldier, not a party politician. Allow me to answer your question concerning the Armed Forces. The duty of this Army is to guard the sovereignty and independence of our country; in other words, the Army's role is to defend the nation, and the enemy of the country cannot be the nation itself.

[Szabo] That is the principle. What happens in practice?

[Pick] Moral and legal obstacles prevent military actions against the people. We are not talking about mercenary troops who have nothing to do with the country. Soldiers undergo a certain training that develops their conditioned reflexes, so they internalize the rule of serving their people, a rule that is strengthened by the existence of an independent national Army. I think this is our best guarantee. I am convinced that the mentality of an average officer has internalized this rule. There are deviations, but given that the Army is an organization that moves in large numbers, individual deviations are not the decisive factor.

[Szabo] I am prepared to believe what you are saying, but let us imagine the worst possible scenario. Deviations at various levels might defeat individual scruples. What guarantees are there under such circumstances?

[Pick] The Constitution and the law on the Army provide guarantees. The Hungarian Army is directed in various ways by the National Assembly, the president of the Republic, the cabinet, and the defense minister. According to our regulations, the Hungarian Army can only be called in under a state of emergency. The Constitution clearly defines the instances where a state of emergency has to be introduced. To sum it up, I can tell you that there are quite a few domestic circumstances that can lead to the introduction of a state of emergency [szuksegallapot], ranging from attempts to overthrow the constitutional order, to the combating of natural catastrophes. External threats to the country can lead to the introduction of a military state of emergency [rendkivuli allapot]. The National Assembly decides on the introduction of a state of emergency; in other words, the decision is not made by one or two people. If the National Assembly is held up and cannot convene, then the prime minister and the National Assembly speaker—or the chairman of the Constitutional Court—have to issue a unanimous statement confirming the inability of Parliament to convene. Under such circumstances, the president of the Republic is authorized to introduce a state of emergency. Under a state of emergency, the president of the Republic can issue decrees. The National Assembly controls the coming into force of these decrees, and it can also suspend them. Under a state of emergency, the Defense Council is granted the sphere of authority of the National Assembly, the president of the Republic, and the cabinet. The Council is headed by the president of the Republic, and its members are the National Assembly speaker, the cabinet, the parliamentary faction leaders of our political parties, and only two soldiers: the commander of the Hungarian Army and the chief of the general staff. I am giving you all these details because I want to prove that our legal guarantees are good; indeed, the Constitutional Court

cannot even suspend its activities under a state of emergency. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] Do you believe that there could be a domestic explosion in Hungary in the near future?

[Pick] People are finding it difficult to make ends meet across the country, so there is obviously an increasing number of discontented people. At the same time, there is a legal framework at our disposal, where the disenchanted can express their opinions. I think that a democratic government that is responsible for the nation takes appropriate notice of these problems. A government is either capable of incapable of handling such problems. Even under a state of emergency, the Hungarian Army has to defend the constitutional order, not the government. According to the Hungarian Constitution, it is not the Army that protects the government from failure, but the actual activities of the government: These activities should be credible, responsible, they should bear national interests in mind, they should be effective, and they should enjoy the population's trust. [passage omitted]

Director Says Radio, TV on 'Road to Collapse'

LD1402204291 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 14 Feb 91

[Text] The company broadcasting the programs of the radio and television wishes to improve its services. This could be considered a natural demand, because the company significantly increased broadcasting fees in the past months, although it still has difficulties. Erno Kardos reports from their briefing.

[Kardos] If the budget is only going to support Hungarian Radio and Television to the present extent, the two institutions are undoubtedly on the road to collapse. The question is, how long will it take for the Hungarian Broadcasting Enterprises [Magyar Musorszoro Vallalat] to go the same way. (Jozsef Bartha), director, told this to journalists and added, the money spent on the technical equipment is rapidly decreasing; it is impossible to approach Western European standards of television and radio broadcasting, let alone match that.

The director sees the solution in greater budget support for all three institutions, and the radio and television getting greater freedom in management. The standard of broadcasting can only improve if the frequency moratorium is lifted, which now totally hinders foreign capital entering our country. In other Eastern European countries, Western companies are permitted to invest in radio and television. The director of the Hungarian Broadcasting Enterprise said that it is high time to lift the frequency moratorium while there are still foreign investors interested in our country.

Outcome of Visegrad Conference Hailed

AU2102091191 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16-17 Feb 91 pp 1, 4

["K. W."-signed commentary: "A Success"]

[Text] The conference in Visegrad marks the end of the period of rivalry between our three countries. Enormous progress has been made since the meeting in Bratislava last fall. Sound substantive preparations had been made for Visegrad, and that also represents a significant success for Polish diplomacy.

Visegrad also marks the end of an illusion, namely, that it is possible to enter Europe individually and ahead of other countries. It was recognized that we have common interests and that it is better for us to help each other rather than to compete against one another. There is no doubt that Poland's resolve on economic reform was our trump card during preparations for the conference.

The West has also given support to Central European regionalism. This support has manifested itself in a readiness to finance joint projects on the part of the three countries concerning environmental protection and communications. This support is linked to the assessment that political and economic reforms in these three countries make them resemble the West.

The meeting revealed a strong convergence of views. Differences of opinion pertained to the speed and extent of progress in institutionalizing cooperation. It has to be appropriate to the tasks that are to be addressed, but form cannot be allowed to take precedence over content. Excessive institutionalization may even become an obstacle to efforts to participate in European structures. It should not be forgotten, not even for a moment, that "regionalism" on the part of the three is not a goal in itself, but is to serve the process of general European integration.

It may appear that the historic setting for the meeting is only of anecdotal worth. However, in view of the great, new opportunities that the coordination of cooperation could open up for Warsaw, Prague, and Budapest, drawing on admirable symbols from the past may be warranted.

Government, Solidarity Discuss Excessive Wage Tax

LD2002235391 Warsaw PAP in English 1958 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 20—"The government would be willing to agree to set the ceiling on wages not affected by the excessive wage tax at 950 thousand zlotys," Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz said during today's talks between the government and Solidarity, the third round already, on the tax.

Lech Kaczynski said that the offer would be difficult for Solidarity to accept. "I notice a somewhat stiffer stance of the government on the tax and I can guess why this is so," Kaczynski added.

Prime Minister Bielecki, who heads the government side, explained that during talks with President Walesa yesterday, he presented the threats stemming from further wage increases and growing inflation. "The president accepted my arguments," Bielecki said, adding: "940 thousand zlotys is in the opinion of the government the most far-reaching concession possible and creates big complications in executing the state budget."

No Agreement Reached

LD2002235691 Warsaw PAP in English 2225 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 20—The third round of the government-Solidarity talks headed by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki and two Solidarity vice chairmen Lech Kaczynski and Stefan Jurczak here today failed to produce an agreement on the minimum wage free from the excess wage tax.

Solidarity rejected the limit of 950,000 zlotys free from excess wage tax proposed by the government instead of 850,000 zlotys binding so far and suggested to increase it to 1.1 million, this in turn being unacceptable to the cabinet.

An official communique issued after the talks says that the government accepted Solidarity's proposal for cabinet members to personally present a report on the current situation and prospects for the Polish economy to the 3rd Solidarity congress to be held next weekend.

Both sides also agreed to ask the Sejm (lower house) for prompt adoption of the laws on trade unions, on collective disputes, and on factory collective labour contracts.

Raising the minimum tax-free wage to 950,000 zlotys would take away some 6-7 trillion zlotys from the budget, according to Deputy finance Minister Ryszard Pazura.

Finance Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki recalled his yesterday's talk with the president on this matter during which he spoke about threats stemming from the growth of wages and higher inflation and opined: "The president is the arbitrator for all Poles and has accepted my arguments."

Workers, Farmers Continue To Strike Over Pay

LD1902224591 Warsaw PAP in English 2206 GMT 19 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 19—Most workers of the "Ursus" tractor factory in Warsaw went on strike today demanding a 30 percent wage rise which, according to the factory managers, is impossible because of the excess wage tax they would have to pay then.

The demands of higher wages and abolition of the tax were also raised by inter-city bus (PKS) drivers in the northern province of Slupsk who launched a sit-in strike today organized by Solidarity and branch trade unions.

Meanwhile, a general strike over pay issues has been called for February 21 by Solidarity in the airports enterprise. The management claims that the demands of higher wages cannot be met as this would considerably increase excess wage tax to be paid by the enterprise which is impossible in view of large financial outlays for the construction of a new airport in Warsaw.

In another development, the number of state farms on strike increased to 1,000 today. Talks between the strike committee and cabinet members in Rzepin, western Poland, failed to produce positive results today, but are to be continued in the coming days.

Farmers' demands of low-interst credits for agriculture, state interventionism in shaping prices for farm produce and a protective imports policy were supported by the protest committee of farmers' circles and organizations, and the rural Solidarity in western Pomerania.

ROAD, UD, FPD To Hold Unification Congress

AU2002111291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Feb 91 p 2

[Rafal Bubnicki report: "ROAD In Favor Of A Single Party"]

[Text] ROAD [Citizens Movement-Democratic Action] Chairman Wladyslaw Frasyniuk held his first news conference in Wroclaw on Thursday. He said that the congress to unite ROAD, the UD [Democratic Union] and FPD [Forum of the Democratic Right] will take place early April, before the start of the parliamentary election campaign.

Frasyniuk placed himself under an obligation vis-a-vis the ROAD Supreme Council to bring about the unification as quickly as possible. The ROAD chairman said he expected the congress to be tough, because ROAD and the UD want a single party, whereas the FPD wants to preserve its identity within the new group. As far as programs are concerned, there is not much difference between ROAD and the UD, which Frasyniuk described as centrist groups, but organizational and personal differences pose an obstacle to unification. The FPD differs from ROAD and the UD with its clasically liberal approach toward the economy and its recognition of the presidential political model. It possesses a clear ideological profile. Frasyniuk described the UD and ROAD as unideological. He said they would both address the same electorate during the elections, another reason for unification.

If unification proves impossible, one can consider an election coalition of three groups, a joint list of candidates, etc.

ROAD believes one should support a government that implements an economic program and creates prospects for a Polish economy that suits European standards.

Frasyniuk said that only those who pay their membership dues are considered members of ROAD. There are 5,500 members, although 10,000 people have applied to join.

Mazowiecki Fears 'Chaos' in State Structures

LD2002175591 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] The Democratic Union [UD] was created not as a result of defeat but because of the social need to defend the vision of a democratic Poland which we served faithfully. Constitutional democracy should be defended, not personal democracy, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the UD chairman, said at a meetng with Wroclaw residents. I am very worried at the moment about the danger of chaos in state structures, which could be dangerous for Poland. Our present government's program is really a continuation of the former one. We will assess it in a pragmatic manner.

Poll Results on Bielecki Government Reported

AU2002155691 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 16 Feb 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Public Opinion Research Center on Bielecki and His Government"]

[Text] Asked if Jan Krzysztof Bielecki will be a good prime minister, 44 percent of Poles said yes, almost the same percentage (43 percent) reserved an opinion, and 13 percent said that he would not be the best possible prime minister—that is what the results of a survey of the views of a representative group of 1,000 adult Poles conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center on 28 and 29 January revealed.

The Public Opinion Research Center revealed that in an identical poll taken one year ago, Tadeusz Mazowiecki was held in high regard by 84 percent, while 4 percent expressed disapproval.

The composition of the Bielecki government is viewed positively by 36 percent, 27 percent think that it is bad or not particularly good, and 37 percent have no opinion.

Twice as many people (38 percent) expressed a positive opinion on Leszek Balcerowicz's membership in the new government compared to those who were opposed to his membership (19 percent). Balcerowicz's membership of the Bielecki government is accepted by 75 percent of college graduates, whereas barely 28 percent of skilled workers and 29 percent of farmers do so.

Almost one quarter, 23 percent, believed that the new government will not contribute anything new to current policy, five percent believe that the Bielecki team will be

able to effect a fundamental breakthrough, and 57 percent thought that the government would only introduce some changes.

Although 44 percent said that the Bielecki government would succeed in dispelling social apathy, 51 percent thought that the government would be unable to make people accept sacrifices.

The government's most important tasks are: the fight against unemployment (65 percent), creating conditions that will promote housing construction (56 percent), the creation of favorable loan terms for farmers (43 percent), and the struggle against inflation (36 percent).

At the end of the list were: settling scores with those who belonged to the old regime (16 percent), the creation of conditions that will attract foreign investors (11 percent), the creation of favorable loan terms for small businesses in manufacturing (9 percent).

Iasi, Timisoara Railway Workers' Strike Continues

Damage Assessment Communique Issued

AU2002234091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1613 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Communique issued by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food on 19 February; place not given]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/2/1991—The Iasi and Timisoara railway workers' strikes which started on February 8 and 12, respectively, continue to cause important damages.

A communique released by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food on February 19 shows that, since the beginning of the strike, 400,000 fowls and 4,500 pigs have died for lack of fodder, which results in a loss of 940,000 kg meat and over 6 million and half eggs.

The combined fodder factories find it impossible now to deliver the amount of fodder strictly necessary to keep alive over 10 million fowls and one million and a half pigs in the zootechnical units within the area affected by the strike.

Anima! losses and the drastic decrease in the production potential of those animals that can be kept alive will cause important shortages in the supply of the population all through 1991 and even next year, the communique warns.

Due to the shortage in freight cars, unloading of 3 ships and 126 freight cars carrying imported fodder is hampered or delayed, which also entails 53,000 dollar and 11 million lei-worth penalties. The same shortage of freight cars prevented "Romcereal" company from delivering over 100,000 tons of cereals for combined fodder and for the bakeries.

In order to prevent a catastrophic situation in fowl and pig farms of Moldova and to ensure minimal quantities of fodder, 200,000 tons of wheat meant for bakery production had to be drawn on state reserves.

The activity of the food industry units have diminished to a worrying extent due to poor supply with fuel and raw materials, which resulted in a poor supply of the market with meat, sugar, oil and other foodstuffs both in the 12 counties in the strike affected area and in Bucharest and other counties. Losses caused by a low marketable industrial production total about 160 million lei.

Losses of the farming and food industry units as a result of the railway strike cannot be borne by the personnel of those units, who has a right to sue the persons responsible in court in order to recover damages, the communique concludes.

Numerous telegrams are daily received by Timisoara railway branch regarding the effects of the strike.

Thus, a telex from Hunedoara steel works reads that the freezing of raw material transport and of the removal of freight cars loaded with steel products for domestic and foreign end users causes damages amounting to 40-45 million lei daily, 1,520 million lei of which are for exports.

Another telex from the railway car factory of Arad shows in Arad's railway stations there are 10 carloads of railway parts and components for Sri Lanka that had to reach Constanta port before February 15.

A telegram from Budapest to Timisoara railway branch requires instructions about "Panonia" and "Carpati Expres" passenger trains coming into Romania. The telegram specifies that, unless normal traffic is provided for those trains, all European railways will be notified that international trains will stop in Hungary's capital.

Newspapers Express Views on Strike

AU2002234191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1622 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/2/1991—"The gap between the claims for which railway workers (in Iasi and Timisoara our note) went on strike and the moment and the circumstances in which they are so ultimatively set forth is so striking that the very institution of strike is seriously compromised," the newspaper "ADEVARUL" writes. "Even if the aim and the moment of the strikes were reasonable and even if the decision made in this respect were unanimous and fully motivated as long as there is a law and justice has had its say the points should have been turned. Whether old or new the law should be observed. Otherwise, we get anarchy and a society that catastrophically leaves the tracks."

"Democratic rights and freedoms cannot exist in economic chaos," politologist Silviu Brucan stresses in the same newspaper. "An economic collapse this is what is in store for us in case railway workers decide to continue their strike," he warns showing that would endanger the whole democratic edifice built with great sacrifice and much toil.

In a commentary signed by Petre Salcudeanu in "ADEVARUL," too, the idea is advanced of a link between the strikes of recent months that of sailors, of the TAROM personnel and now of the railway workers. "Could it be the lack of discipline in a place where it used to reign supreme?" the author of the article wonders. And he opines that besides the lack of discipline there are also the trade union leaders, as "a germinative factor." "If one cared to notice, the strikes are prompted from top to bottom so that the individuals at the top may climb even higher by exploiting the suffering of the people."

"ROMANIA LIBERA" carries opinions by trade union leaders according to which "it is not railway workers who are to be blamed for the disaster in the Romanian economy, as the government vehemently says for lack of a scaping goat to cover for its own incompetence...

Everyone, the Romanian television included, is invited to come and meet railway workers and get acquainted with their problems."

The newspaper "LIBERTATEA" fights assessments according to which the "government press" systematically disinforms public opinion by truncating the claims of the railway strikers in Iasi and Timisoara and spells out some of their claims which, for lack of financial availabilities, it considers as unrealistic (so is, for instance, the claim concerning payment in hard currency, in consideration of the chain reaction it would entail among the producers of the commodities that are carried by rail).

Under the heading "A Strike on a Set Scenario—The Railway Workers Commit Sabotage at Their Own Expense," the newspaper "AZI" blames trade unions leaders, "who have discovered their true vocation for playing with strikes," for the delay with which the labour dispute in Iasi and Timisoara is being solved. "As a rule," the same newspaper says, "such leaders, who have no connection with palpable facts, are incompetent at their work places as well and have the nerve to assume the role of the workers' defence counsels. Cosily sitting in their trade-union armchairs they say they "sacrifice themselves" for the sake of the workers' rights, promoting a single form of trade union fight the strike."

Dialogue With Railway TU Leaders Continues

AU2002234291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1643 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/2/1991—Wednesday, February 20, was the third day of the dialogue between the governmental commission led by Doru Pana, minister of public works, transports and physical planning, and the leaders of the free union alliances of the Iasi and Timisoara branches of the Romanian railways. After Minister Pana asked for the talks to be speeded up, solutions were found to seven of the 20 claims of the strikers .

The members of the governmental commission asked for freight and passenger railway transport to be urgently resumed before the dialogue is concluded.

No answer has been given so far, but the engine drivers' union leader Ion Moisuc has announced that the members of that free union will halt the warning strike until February 23 when the actions are going to be coordinated with those of Romania's federation of the engine drivers.

At midday several categories of employees of Iasi railway station shift masters, shunt masters, pointsmen, shuntsmen, warehouse men said they decided to resume work and they wanted this to be known by the participants in the dialogue between the governmental commission and the union leaders. The strikers added that two of the three claims for which they went on strike had been found a solution and the third is under debates.

Government Calls For End to Strike

AU2102081391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2244 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 20/2/1991—Wednesday, February 20, the Romanian Government held its weekly meeting.

Before entering the agenda, Prime Minister Petre Roman read a report on the strikes of the Iasi and Timisoara railway branches, which shows that, though the strike is not legally grounded, and, after the past days' negotiations, nor is it motivated as far as the claims are concerned, the trade union leaders of the said branches stick to their decision not to resume work, a position that contradicts both the democratic principles of a state of law and the vital interests of the population and of the national economy.

The Romanian Government asks once more all those involved in the strike to reinstate the law, to immediately stop the strike and, on this basis, to continue negotiations until a final solution to the claims of the Railway Trade Unions Convention is found.

Further on, the government heard a report on the activity of Covasna Prefecture to the effect of implementing the government's reform policy.

The government approved the drafts to be submitted to Parliament of the laws on penalties for violations of the freedom of the press and on academic autonomy.

The government also approved Romania's participation in the CEMA's final session and in the creation of the new Organisation of International Economic Cooperation (OIEC)

Approval was given to the minute on the 1991 export of meat and meat preparations, while maintaining the 1990 quotas for home consumption. The convertible revenues thus obtained are to be exclusively spent on covering part of the imports for the live stock sector, imports without which the home meat requirements cannot be met.

[The] green light was also given to the resolutions setting the minimum all-country valid nominal salary and the 1991 salary bench-marks for the employees of commercial companies, as well as for the creation of public corporations and commercial companies in various branches of activity.

Dialogue Ends; Timisoara Strike Ends

AU2102111391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1011 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/2/1991—A communique released at 0600 hrs by the trade union representatives of Timisoara announces that their strike ended.

The decision to end the strike was made following 20-hour talks between a governmental commission led

by Doru Pana, minister of public works, transport and physical planning, and representatives of the Trade Union Alliance of Iasi and Timisoara Railway Workers to solve the work conflict.

The representatives of the Iasi Railway Workers' Trade Union Alliance stuck to their decision to continue the strike although the analysis of the 20 points forwarded by the National Convention of the Railway Free Trade Unions led to a consensus on the modalities of meeting all claims with the pending sub-point 1-E which refers to the payment of the wage surpluses for 1986-1989 on which the parties, the representatives of the Timisoara railway workers included, have not reached an agreement yet as regards the solution to be adopted.

While the governmental commission proposes that the wage surpluses be paid in bonds, the representatives of the Railway Trade Unions ask that they be paid in cash the equivalent of a monthly salary for each year.

Mr. Doru Pana set forth at length the reasons for the payment of the surpluses in bonds, the way of using them and advanced the proposal that, if the strike ends, the representatives of the trade unions and of the governmental commission should ask Romania's President Ion Iliescu to mediate a unanimously acceptable solution. The proposal was not received favourably by the representatives of the Iasi Free Trade Union Alliance who stuck to their position.

At about 0330 hrs a convention was signed between the negotiating parties which includes all the 20 points of the package of claims and the modalities of meeting them.

The convention was signed by ten of the eleven representatives of the Timisoara railway workers as well as by the representatives of the Iasi Railway Trade Unions who decided to continue the strike until sub-point 1-E is solved.

Several Trade Network Units Begin Strike

AU2002234691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1611 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/2/1991—The strike of the trade unions in a number of commercial societies began on Wednesday, February 20, and was called, according to statements by the trade union leaders, in response to the government's lack of cooperation with the trade unions following the 2 hours warning strike on 15 and 16 February.

The main request of the strikers is that use of the location of the shops they work in be granted without an auction.

Only part of the trade unions in the Bucharest commerce are on strike. The baker's, dairy and butcher's shops as well as the warehouses with merchandise in bulk that supply kindergartens, orphanages and hospitals operate normally.

The strike is scheduled for February 20 and 21.

This morning talks have begun between representatives of the trade unions, the Ministry of Commerce and Tourism and the Bucharest mayoralty in order to solve the problems that led to the labour dispute.

Anticommunist Association Established in Bucharest

AU2002230391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1758 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/2/1991—The National Association of People in Romania Who Were Not RCP [Romanian Communist Party—PCR] Members, presided over by Engineer Mihail Cristodor, has been set up in Bucharest.

The association, reads a note sent in for release to the ROMPRES, considered purely anticommunist by its very name and statute, is meant to fight in an organized and concerted manner against communism, against the RCP structure and nomenklatura which is still largely maintained and curbs the country's social progress and democratization. The association will also have a commission to investigate into the RCP activists' abuses during the dictatorship. The association currently makes demarches to edit a newspaper of its own.

The new association wishes to prove there are many honest, professionally, culturally and politically well instructed people with an adequate moral standing, who were not RCP members.

Former Securitate Chief Testifies in Court Trial

AU2002230591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1646 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/2/1991—General Iulian Vlad, former chief of the State Security Department summoned to bear witness in the trial of former communist leaders, charged with mass murder, stated that no reprisal measures against the demonstrators in Timisoara and Bucharest were decided in either of the two meetings, 17 and 22 December 1989, of the Executive Political Committee (PEC) of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party—PCR], which were both devoted to discussing the situation resulting from the inception of the revolution. He also stated that neither before 17 December, in his telephone conversations with Ceausescu about the developments in Timisoara, nor during the first of the two PEC meetings did the dictator give specific orders as to how informative-operational or security troops should act, so as he gave no such orders, in the said circumstances, to either the minister of national defence or the minister of the interior.

In his opinion, the fire opened both against Timisoara and Bucharest demonstrators followed an order Ceausescu had given before the 17 December PEC meeting, which could explain the reply former PEC secretary Ion Coman gave Ceausescu at the teleconference shortly

following the meeting: "Comrade secretary general, here they are already shooting, as you ordered."

Speaking of the 17 December meeting, Vlad opined that this had been mainly intended to discuss and decide the dismissal of the former ministers of national defence, Vasile Milea, and of the interior, Tudor Postelnicu, and of his own for having failed to handle the situation in Timisoara and for insubordination to orders given prior to the events, which, but for the undecided attitude of the three ministries, would not have escaped control. He also said that Ceausescu, though he made reference to previous orders, never specified during that meeting what those orders were.

As for the 22 December PEC meeting, General Vlad said: "The question Ceausescu asked of those present, that is whether they were ready to fight, to go to the bitter end, was hinting at a rather illusive goal, contradicted by the obvious course of the events. As a matter of fact, some of the PEC members expressed quite clearly, others less convincingly, their disagreement to keeping up fighting. For instance, Constantin Dascalescu, Mihai Gere, Gheorghe Radulescu objected to the use of fire arms under those circumstances, each of them having pleaded that workers must not be shot at. In his turn, Paul Niculescu Mizil was wondering: "Fight, but how?". I am sure, said Vlad, that Niculescu's interrogation expressed his conviction that any fight was useless rather than it expected an answer about the way to fight.

"As far as I am concerned, concluded the witness, as early as the dawn of 22 December 1989 I had already given firm orders that not even warning fire should be shot."

The trial's next session, due for Thursday, 21 February, schedules the hearing of the tape on which the teleconference of 17 December 1989 is recorded and the hearing of witnesses Petre Preoteasa, former first secretary of Brasov RCP Committee, and Cornel Pacoste, former deputy prime minister, who is too standing the charge of genocide in the Timisoara trial.

President Iliescu Promulgates Land Law

AU2002194291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1643 GMT 20 Feb 91

["Presidential Diary"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/2/1991—Monday, February 19, 1991, Romania's President Ion Iliescu promulgated the land law.

* Ion Iliescu's Two 'Coups' Described

91BA0275B Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 5 Feb 91 pp 1, 2

[Article by Serban Sandulescu: "One Revolution and Two Coups"]

[Text] In the multitude of events populating mankind's history there are more than a few which, although they brought about spectacular changes in the course of history, remained enveloped in mystery in spite of the interest they aroused and the attention with which they were studied.

Is this the fate reserved for the events that took place in our country in December 1989 and ended in Ceausescu's downfall, events that some call a revolution, others a coup d'etat, and a third category views as both? The answer to this question is of both academic and especially practical interest, regarding the future of our people, which is much more important because it may tell us with whom we're dealing, what we should do, and how to organize in order to make real progress toward democracy rather than toward a new dictatorship, as is being said increasingly frequently.

Could the latter allegation be justified?

Caught in the maelstrom of daily problems that are becoming increasingly more difficult for each one of us we were beginning to exhibit a certain indifference toward these questions, which the authorities not only welcomed, but even encouraged. The TV series "A Live Revolution," the reports presented with great delay by parliamentary commissions that investigated the March events in Tirgu Mures and the 13-15 June events in Bucharest, and other events or new data that emerged—such as the information furnished by Silviu Brucan in his 25 January TV interview—restored the topical interest of the two questions cited above thaat in our view must remain at the center of our attention until all the facts have been completely clarified.

Seeing again in the TV series amazing scenes in which young people, having stepped over the psychological threshold of fear perseveringly and skilfully cultivated by communism, were fighting bare handed against the totalitarian machine of repression; then seeing crowds of unleashed people of all social categories and ages whose faces bore witness to the hatred for everything that the old regime represented and to the determination and will to win; and in the end seeing the joy in the victory, we can state with certainty that it was a revolution. Insidious speculations according to which the events that ignited the revolution in Timisoara had been instigated by foreign agents and those in the Palace Square in Bucharest on 21 December 1989 were triggered by some fireworks are of no importance. Even if there were a kernel of truth in those speculations, it is obvious that urgings from outside wouldn't have had any effect if they hadn't fallen on the huge potential of hatred accumulated against communism over 45 years that was simmering in each heart and that led to the formidable conflagration of feelings of an entire nation, to which was joined the notorious dissatisfaction of Communist Party cadres and securitate members who in those moments kept their distance. The latter must not be confused with the nomenklatura and the reprisal forces that were active during some older or more recent period of the communist dictatorship and who were responsible for the disaster and suffering they caused.

Thus, let's not forget that the slogan of the revolution was "Down with Communism," and when Verdet and Dascalescu wanted to form a new government the people in Palace Square shouted as one: "Without communism." That was the situation when the Communist Ion Iliescu entered the stage; well advised by certain "counselors," he did not repeat the mistake of his old comrades. He put the TV screen between himself and the people and appeared surrounded by a practically unknown entourage, while a few famous actors lent him—perhaps unknowingly—a certain "respectability," then he announced the formation of the National Salvation Front [NSF] in which he took good care to give front seats to Doina Cornea, Ana Blandiana, Mircea Dinescu, Laszlo Tokes, and Dumitru Mazilu, in other words to Romania's dissident leaders well known here and abroad for their anticommunist opinion. However, the key posts in his government were assigned to people directly or indirectly descended from the old nomenklatura, beginning with none other than Petre Roman, the prime minister.

That was the first coup by which Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman together with the group they represented clearly seized the fruits of the revolution. To disguise that fact, they acted in two distinct directions.

Along the line of propaganda they circulated the theory that the Front was an apolitical organization and that the government—Petre Roman—intended merely to run the country and to organize free elections before passing on the power to a freely elected government.

Along the military line, during the evening of 22 December Ion Iliescu's team "staged" a counterrevolution in the form of urban guerilla fighting, whose members were dubbed "terrorists." In this way Ion Iliescu could pose as the defender of the revolution, something that won him the sympathy of a relatively large number of citizens at the cost of a few hundred dead and substantial damage. But for a genuine communist the duplicity of such actions and the losses caused have no importance; that fact has been well established by 70 odd years of communist history.

The correctness of these views is completely clear, having been proven by the fact that not one terrorist was caught. The complicity of the government sponsored by Ion Iliescu cannot be doubted; this was also confirmed by Silviu Brucan in the above-mentioned TV show, who cited specific data he has that directly implicate Ion Iliescu in this kind of machinations.

Who stood behind Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman throughout that period is equally crystal clear when we consider that the Baltic organizations that oppose the process of democratization in those countries and their independence are also called councils or committees of national salvation fronts.

Later came the second coup d'etat which in our opinion took place when Ion Iliescu announced that the NSF was becoming a political organization and was running in the elections, something that was in flagrant opposition to the declarations made in December 1989. Is any other proof needed to demonstrate how much trust we can put in Ion Iliescu's declarations? And is there still any doubt about his typically communist education and behavior? Certainly not!

We will not now dwell on what happened in Tirgu Mures, on the terror that governed the elections and how their results were falsified, nor on the 13-15 June events and many others, all of which serve to highlight the totalitarian concepts of the present authorities.

We will content ourselves with noting the situation currently prevailing.

Ion Iliescu, a notorious communist shaped at the peak of the Stalinist era, is interim president [as published] of the country!

Alexandru Birladeanu, indubitably one of the executioners of Romanian democracy after 1944, is speaker of the Senate and lectures us on democracy!

Dan Martian, for a long time leader of the communist youth, is doing in the Chamber of Deputies what Alexandru Birladeanu does in the Senate!

Petre Roman, heir to a strong Stalinist family tradition, professor of scientific socialism, is prime minister and lectures the Romanian people on how to shift to a market economy!

And that was only the tip of our neocommunist iceberg, which exploits, for the sake of world opinion, the advantages created by the two coups by which it seized power and the results of elections in which, through a skillful mix of force and lies, it bent the Romanian people's will clearly expressed by the December revolution.

At first sight the situation presented above may not seem to warrant anxiety or doubts about the country's progress toward democracy. However, the strength of the present neocommunist structures is far from that wielded by the former communist structures, nor will they be able to restore it in the present international situation. We must also stress that the overwhelming majority of those who voted for the Front on 20 May have by now realized their mistake. These optimistic observations must not lead us to believe that things will automatically take their course. History teaches that democracy is won with difficulty but easily lost, and that makes it more necessary than ever to ensure accord and unity among the democratic opposition.

TU Discusses Claims With Agricultural Executives

AU1902184091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1746 GMT 19 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/2/1991—Tuesday, 19 February, representatives of the Agriculturalists Trade Unions from all Romanian counties met with executives

of the Ministry of Agriculture to discuss issues concerning: Social protection as job security for farming specialists on the background of the land reform, in compliance with the land bill; the return of penalties abusively deducted from the incomes of peasants, specialists and mechanics over 1987/1988 by the former regime; the instatement of the farm engineering and economic personnel's rights; the crediting by the state of all farming operations this year, irrespective of the form of property, given the essential role agriculture is expected to play in the country's wealth and the people's welfare.

Vatra Romaneasca Spokesman Attacks Hungarians

AU1902110791 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Feb 91 p 3

[Report by Bucharest correspondent Peter Mag: "Hungarians Are the Destroyers of Romania—This Is What the Vatra Romaneasca Spokesman Claimed on Romanian Television"]

[Text] Everyone can interpret Gorbachev's proposal for a common European Home as one pleases. In a television interview on 10 February, Carolina Ilica, national spokesman of Vatra Romaneasca, said that, for the Soviet President, this means maintaining the Soviet imperialist empire; for Western Europe it means the federalization and integration of Europe; for Hungary it means the dismemberment of Romania and the restoration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; and for Romania it means expanding the nationally united, sovereign, independent, and indivisible Romania—left for them as a positive inheritance of the Ceausescu regime—into a Greater Romania.

Among her strongly anti-Hungarian declarations, it is worth mentioning that, in her view, "Hungary is the main basis of European destabilization," something she believes "is well proved by the recent Hungarian arms sales to Croatia." Besides, in the aforementioned interview to Romanian Television, Carolina Ilica considered it necessary to note in connection with the arms sales that the affair "could have even led to a civil war." According to Ilica, only the quick publication of the whole affair by the authorities in Belgrade prevented this. Carolina Ilica recommends a similar "media speed in exposing the anti-Romanian machinations of the Hungarian separatists in Romania."

Only the primitiveness of Carolina Ilica's television statement was more striking than its rude anti-Hungarian character. Among other things, Carolina Ilica saw a "herald of Romania's dismemberment" in the fact that the Gulf war broke out precisely on 15 January, on the anniversary of the birth of Eminescu, the greatest Romanian national poet. Carolina Ilica, who is now preparing the publication of her anti-Hungarian collection of articles entitled: "Transylvania—Our Golgotha," claims that "Hungarian separatists murdered the Croatian King Alexander in 1934."

From the arms sales affair and the size of the protest against the radical reduction in the broadcasting time allocated for the television programs of national minorities in Romania, Carolina Ilica came to the conclusion that "we Romanians are too tolerant toward the Hungarians."

Roman, CSFR's Miklosko Discuss Cooperation

AU1902163291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1419 GMT 19 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/2/1991—The stage of bilateral relations between Bucharest and Prague and possibilities of further developing them were tackled during the talks on Tuesday at noon between Mr. Petre Roman and Mr. Jozef Miklosko, deputy prime minister of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. They also approached new modalities of developing a mutually advantageous cooperation in the most diverse areas.

At the end of the interview, Mr. Miklosko made a brief statement to "ROMPRES": "I had contacts with Romania partners in education, science and culture and I could note we have similar problems, which are not easy to solve. There are many things of interest to both sides and we agreed on palpable steps towards cooperation. We also intend to conclude further cooperation agreements and to work along this line.

Federal Assembly Discusses Armed Groups

LD2002230391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1232 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly opened a debate today on the unauthorized arming of groups in the SFRY following an hour of polemics in which a group of delegates from Croatia and Slovenia demanded that this exceptionally important problem should be removed from the agenda of this Assembly Chamber.

By a majority vote the stand of the competent services of the Federation and of many delegates was upheld that the political situation in the country is such that it requires the Federal Chamber to state and adopt clear stands on the matter.

The debate was conducted on the basis of several analyses and reports that were sent to the Yugoslav Assembly by the Federal Executive Council, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, the Federal Customs, and the competent services of Croatia. At the session itself fresh details and additional information was given to delegates by the Deputy Federal Secretary for National Defense, Admiral Stane Brovet, and Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracanin.

Both state secretaries consider it essential to fully implement the order on the disarming paramilitary units throughout the country. In this connection, Stane Brovet expressed his belief that the Yugoslav People's Army will continue to act in accordance with the decisions of the state presidency and observe the stances of this chamber, the SFRY Constitution, and federal laws. [passage omitted]

Gracanin Views Arms Issues

LD2002220491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs will, within its competency, insist on and consistently invest efforts in the implementation of the SFRY Presidency decree on the disarming of paramilitary formations and related Federal Executive Council stands, Federal Secretary for Internal Afairs Petar Gracanin stated today.

Gracanin assessed as exceptionally dangerous attempts to prevent and even block the work of all federal bodies in the enforcement of the SFRY Presidency decree.

Disbanding and disarming of paramilitary formations has practically ceased for almost three weeks. Moreover, intentions to continue arming such formations have been publicly expressed, Gracanin said, and went on to say that there are no guarantees that an end wil be put to the illegal import of arms. Serious attempts have been made to foil the criminal proceedings underway in the Zagreb military court.

Attempts to internationalize these issues in a wider context of the Yugoslav crisis are in evidence. Foreign forces have been invited to intervene in Yugoslavia economically and otherwise with the aim of securing, allegedly, a peaceful settlement of the existing conflicts, Gracanin said.

It is unacceptable that some people, including several delegates of this assembly, believe the involvement of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], other federal bodies and even the SFRY Presidency as a source of tension. These involements are characterized as a deliberate instigation of the crisis and exertion of pressure allegedly aimed at jeopardizing the new authorities and suppressing the democratic processes in Croatia and Slovenia. In this context, all significant facts established by military and other security bodies, within the framework of their constitutional and legal powers, have been disputed as well as the very legitimacy of undertaking such actions and measures.

Moreover, it has been demanded that the responsibility of only some federal bodies and officials be established. A session of the Federal Chamber's Committee for Internal Affairs reached the same conclusion, which we of course accept. It is, however, suprising that at the same time it was not demanded that the responsibility of republican bodies directly involved in the illegal import of arms and arming of paramilitary formations be established.

Gracanin then went to point out that the break-up of the single security system is another key issue.

Before an agreement on the future order in Yugoslavia is reached, unilateral constitutional and legal changes have been made. A practice has been established that federal bodies—I speak above all about the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs—are prevented from efficiently carrying out their security tasks. The fact that some republics have no provisions for state security tasks to be carried out at the federal level in the next period, is evidence that a deliberate attempt to break up the single security system is involved.

Due to a serious breach of the single security system, the illegal import of arms, and still less the attempted armed insurrection, would not have been discovered without JNA involvement, as noted at a session of the Internal Policy committee.

The Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Slovenia, where a parallel security system is being set up, is ignoring us completely. There are no indications that relations between the Slovene and our internal affairs secretariats will be normalized.

Cooperation with the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry has been steady, and there is willingness to keep it going. Several problems are, however, constantly besetting it. One of the basic problems is one-sided media coverage, which has repercussions for the assessment of the security situation in the republic. Since mid-August last year,

we have only been receiving reports about events in the Knin region and some other parts of the republic. We received a negligible number of reports about extremist activities, threats, and violent actions of champions of Croatian nationalism and chauvinism. We have not been informed about an increasing number of visits made by extremist emigres known for their terrorist activities. Individuals are even publicly threatening armed conflict because of an alleged JNA threat.

When we asked the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry to send us information, it did so incorrectly. It explicitly and strongly denied that parallel military formations exist on the territory of Croatia, apart from in the regions of Knin and North Dalmatia. Such a claim was made in a statement of the Croatian Assembly President, sent to all deputies of the Yugoslav Assembly. In doing so, they unjustifiably denied and called into doubt substantiated reports compiled by competent federal bodies.

I am also drawing attention to the findings of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs to the effect that an unprecedented increase in the number of especially the [police] reserve force points directly to an intention to use the police force at a particular moment not for security but for military and other tasks. We have been incorrectly informed about all issues relating to the illegal import of arms, Gracanin said.

The federal secretary for internal affairs did no confirm that paramilitary formations exist in other republics, which does not mean that they will not be formed if we go on postponing the resolution of problems.

There is plenty of information about organized smuggling of arms and ammunition on the part of Albanian separatists aimed at preparing terrorist attacks and armed opposition to legal state bodies.

This was confirmed by findings of the Federal Secetariat for Internal Affairs' inspection. Apart from this, citizens throughout the country possess a substantial quantity of arms, which under certain conditions—especially in nationally mixed environments—could be used in mutual fighting and could bring about serious consequences.

In the current dramatic situation when intra-national relations are exacerbated, there is a real threat of armed conflicts, which could turn into a civil war. Hence, it is extremely important that measures and activities are carried out for implementing the SFRY Presidency decree on disarming throughout Yugoslavia. Otherwise, the creation of national armed units outside the single Yugoslav armed forces poses a direct threat to the territorial integrity of the Yugoslav community and to each citizen. In the current crisis in Yugoslavia, this could bring about much more serious, and even inter-republican armed conflicts, Petar Gracanin concluded.

LC Leader: Socialism Cannot Be Stopped

AU2002152291 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Feb 91 p 5

[Report on interview with Dragan Atanasovski, president of the Yugoslav Committee of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia, by Miroslav Kos; place and date not given: "The Left Is the Answer for Euphoria"]

[Text] Socialism is a world process that cannot be stopped. This was stated by Dragan Atanasovski, president of the Yugoslav Committee of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia [LC-MY] in an interview for our paper. The fall of socialist systems in Eastern Europe and the devaluation of the Yugoslav version of a promised society did not discourage Atanasovski and 220,000 members (according to him) of the party that he heads. Socialism as a process is on the rise worldwide, if you take into account its characteristics such as social justice, citizens' freedoms, humaneness of society—Atanasovski said, concluding that "our previous concrete solutions for Yugoslavia were not appropriate for the time and the processes that were taking place." These solutions only hampered the process of socialism in Yugoslavia, he said.

The LC-MY is the only successor of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. According to Atanasovski, the LC-MY is primarily trying to rally all parties of the so-called left orientation around its basic program tenets, which are Yugoslavia and socialism. Atanasovski does not envisage the Slovene and Croat communists in this alliance of the left-wing parties ("they are too right for the alliance, too far away from the communist organization") and is not even thinking about the possibility of cooperating with them. The Bosnian and Macedonian communists were offered cooperation ("in any form so it can be ascertained whether, if their program is different from ours, we can...) but the offer was rejected. Only the Montenegrin communists offered us their hand ("At present they are the only ones with whom we fully cooperate. We also expect the same to happen with the Socialist Party of Serbia").

The prospects of the Yugoslav left are great despite the fact that we as a country have found ourselves in a crisis and that the nationalist euphoria is spreading. This euphoria cannot last long because it does not have a program. It will have to subside because citizens' life interests will demand that. I think that right things and programs will find their place at the federal elections. Although we are not a classical workers party, we are oriented toward the broadest stratum of citizens, toward workers, and expect them to support our tenets. When people in this country find themselves in the position that they do not have anything to eat, then what will become important are the interests of the citizens, not Serbs, Croats, or Macedonians, Atanasovski said.

Support From the Hungry

[Kos] The Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia did not have brilliant results at elections in some republics. Although the comparison is crude, are you not worried about such an outcome considering that the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia declares itself to be a party of Yugoslav orientation?

[Atanasovski] There are two major differences between us and the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia. In contrast to them, we strive for a Yugoslav federation, and not for any kind of Yugoslavia, which, according to them, could even be so loose that it could lose its economic, cultural, and, if I may say so, political independence. The second difference is the attitude toward social property, which shows that the reformists are not for socialism. What they are proposing is to push our country straight into the beginning of capitalism. The economic reform is inevitable, but it should help our economy to truly restructure itself and enter the world market.

[Kos] How do you see property relations within the economic reform?

[Atanasovski] We are in favor of a pluralism of ownership, but also favor pronounced support to public, state, and social property. We are not against private and mixed forms of property. We are following workers' stockholdings with particular interest, but are against what is today being done to social property in Yugoslavia. The process of its reprivatization assumes the existence of a previous owner to whom this social property would be returned. This social property is the property of the workers class but is being sold to those who in fact got rich at the expense of that workers class. This is nothing but a classic case of plundering social property.

[Kos] What is your assessment of the current negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia?

[Atanasovski] We think that everything should be resolved in federal institutions. We also believe that regardless of how legitimately leaderships were elected—we are not denying this to anybody—the legitimacy attained through elections does not give any leadership the right to decide on whether they want to stay in Yugoslavia or not. We think that these talks should provide the starting points and different ways for solving the crisis, and that people should be able to decide on them in a referendum in every republic.

Government Is To Blame

[Kos] The situation is fairly tense and does not promise many good things....

[Atanasovski] We are talking about a number of temporary euphorias. Everything should be approached in a more constructive way. Nevertheless, I think that the Croatian leadership should not behave in the way it does and use the mass media to lead the country toward a civil war. If the will of the people is to be decisive, the people must not be subjected to the pressure of arms.

[Kos] In your view, are there reasons to reproach other republican leaderships for the destruction of conditions for a peaceful dialogue?

[Atanasovski] I think that all the stands are legitimate, but the leadership of Croatia is the only leadership that is trying to impose its views by force, with almost fascist methods. In this way it is preventing the Croatian people from expressing their view on certain issues.

[Kos] The Croatian people have, after all, elected this leadership and authorities.

[Atanasovski] Yes, but we think that the very same people should recall them if they continue to work in this way. As long as the federal Constitution and laws are in effect, they should be respected.

[Kos] The fact is that Croatia is not the only one that violates federal laws and the constitution....

[Atanasovski] The federal government is to blame for this. The government is not performing its duties in the real sense of the word. It should have intervened with all its powers the first day the federal laws were violated, and prevent this. Perhaps, it all started in a somewhat banal way, by the republics failing to pay their contributions to the federal fund. The government ignored this and we are now in the situation where arms are being imported into the country without the knowledge of the federal customs office.

[Kos] If the federal elections ever take place, how will the LC-MY fare at them?

[Atanasovski] We will win.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

We Will Not Be Drawing Lists

"We are founding our program on the positive ideas and experiences of the communist and workers movements in Yugoslavia and the world. We will publicly acknowledge what we consider to be the movements' mistakes and misconceptions and will dissociate ourselves from what is bad, but do not want to spoil relations and draw exhausting lists of wrongdoings and this way become a judge of the former LC of Yugoslavia."

The Inevitable Participation of the Yugoslav People's Army

"The role of the Yugoslav People's Army in this situation in Yugoslavia, regarding peace and freedoms of citizens and the denouement of the crisis in a peaceful way, is great. Therefore, we think that the role of the Army in the denouement of the Yugoslavia crisis is, in a way, inevitable."

Markovic Reports on Monetary 'Incursions'

LD1902150691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1253 GMT 19 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic informed Yugoslav businessmen today that most of the incursions into the country's monetary system have already been recovered in financial terms. As of yesterday, five billion dinars were outstanding: the amount used in Serbia for the payment of pensions and 1.88 billion dinars used by Belgrade Bank.

Having stressed that a change in the ownership structure must be accelerated, the FEC president mentioned that this job has begun on the basis of the law on social capital, in 600-700 enterprises, the property of which is valued at a total of 4.2 billion dinars.

Reportage on Slovene Separation Activity, Resolution

Official Cautions Against Civil War

LD2002215491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1714 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—The possibility of civil war in Yugoslavia can not be excluded if mutual pressures and threats against negotiations on the future of the country continue. This was stated at today's session of the three chambers of the Slovene Assembly by member of the SFRY Presidency, Dr. Janez Drnovsek.

Serbia will seek a revision of borders should the country become divided. Croatia is adhering to the confederal concept and the inviolability of republican borders. Montenegro supports the Serbian stances, and Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia want a Yugoslavia of independent, sovereign and equal republics, Dr. Drnovsek said. He added that the negotiations have still not reached the key phase. The member of Slovenia's state leadership presented the view that "the chaotic disintegration of the federal system is not in anyone's interests, including Slovenia." Dr. Drnovsek believes that Slovenia should regulate its separation [izlazak] with an appropriate agreement or legal act.

Legal order and a new political stability are necessary, otherwise we will very quickly arrive at the collapse of the economy and also significantly worsened consequences for Slovene independence, the member of Slovenia's state leadership said. It is worth maintaining all existing positive ties, which are founded on real interests and normalizing relations between all republics. Slovenia should play a pacifying role in the Yugoslav conflicts and assist in the search for political solutions, even in situations not directly dependent on it, Drnovsek said.

"We all want this part of the world to avoid civil war and terrorist attacks," Dr. Drnovsek stressed. If the assembly adopts such a direction, Dr. Drnovsek does not exclude the possibility that Slovenia may regulate its sovereign status and all material and other relations with the remaining part of Yugoslavia, or with other republics, even before the definitive solution of the whole Yugoslav situation. "The possibility of an independent Slovenia in the final denouement entering a confederal or some other relationship with the remaining part of Yugoslavia will also remain open," Dr. Drnovsek said. The negotiated delimitation of the borders with the rest of Yugoslavia, he added, would also represent the basis for the international recognition of Slovenia and the normal regulation of all relations, including financial, with the rest of the world.

Assembly Resolution on Disassociation

AU2002211891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1604 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Speech by Slovene Assembly President France Bucar at the Assembly session in Ljubljana—live]

[Text] I will read the Slovenia Assembly resolution regarding the proposal on the consentaneous resolution [Bucar corrects himself] division [razdruzitev] of the SFRY.

On the basis of the permanent and inalienable right of the Slovene people to self-determination, which is one of the basic principles of international law, and on the basis of valid constitutional provisions of the Republic of Slovenia and the SFRY, a plebiscite was carried out in the Republic of Slovenia on 23 December 1990 to decide whether the Republic of Slovenia should become an autonomous and independent state that will no longer be part of the federal state of the SFRY.

By voting at the plebiscite, the citizens of the Republic of Slovenia legally expressed their political will that the Republic of Slovenia become a sovereign state, which would enjoy all actual powers on its territory and will be subject [subjekt] to international law in the full meaning of the term.

The plebiscitary decision obligates the Slovene Assembly and other state services of the Republic of Slovenia, to (?prepare) constitutional and other acts and measures needed by the Republic of Slovenia to be able to take over the realization of its sovereign rights that it had transferred to the SFRY services and to do so within six months from the day the decision was proclaimed. The decision made at the plebiscite also obligates the Slovene Assembly to begin negotiations about the legal succession of the SFRY and the future establishment of mutual relations on the basis of principles of international law.

The Slovene Assembly sends the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, the Montengrin Assembly, the Croatian Assembly, the Macedonian Assembly, and the Serbian Assembly the following proposal on consentaneous division of the SFRY:

1. Through the agreement of the republics, the SFRY will divide into two or more new sovereign and independent

states. The new states which are created after the division are sovereign and have all powers each on their own territory. With the act of division, they will mutually respect each other's full subjectivity according to international law.

In conformity with the CSCE Final Act, the new states will recognize all joint borders, as well as the borders of all countries in Europe, as inviolable.

The new states will mutually recognize the territorial integrity of every one of the states. They will refrain from activities that are not in conformity with the aims and principles of the UN Charter, and particularly will do nothing that would be to the detriment of territorial integrity, political independence, and/or unity of any state. They will particuarly refrain from any kind of activity that would represent threat with force or use of force.

2. The republics will carry out the process of division gradually and within a (?reasonable period of) time. All questions concerning the right to [word indistinct], (?succession), and other issues concerning division, will be solved in conformity with the valid rules of international law, in particular those that were [word indistinct] in 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, 1978 Vienna Convention on the Succession of States in Respect to Treaties, and 1983 Vienna Convention on the Succession of States in Respect of State Property, Archives, and Debts.

The process of division will be carried out in such a way so that legitimate interests of the new states and their present joint institutions, or the interests of third states and the international community would not be affected. Possible mutual disputes will be solved in a peaceful way, so they would not endanger international peace, security, and justice. They will try to arrive at just solutions based on the principle of equality of parties in a dispute, with goodwill, in the spirit of cooperation, and on the basis of international law.

3. The new states will advocate permanent and institutionalized forms of cooperation (?including) the development of mutual relations and possible Yugoslav confederate or economic communities, or [words indistinct] links to the benefit of their peoples, that is, citizens. By developing equal cooperation, they will endeavor to enhance mutual understanding and confidence, friendly and good-neighborly relations, international peace, security, and justice. They will also strive to increase their people's wealth by developing cooperation. On that basis, they will develop permanent forms of economic, cultural, and scientific cooperation, and they will support each other in joining European and world forms of interstate cooperation and links.

The Republic of Slovenia [word indistinct] an autonomous, sovereign, and independent state. The state borders of the new state, the Republic of Slovenia, are the internationaily recognized state borders of the present SFRY with the Republic of Austria, the Republic of Italy, and the Republic of Hungary, as well as the border between the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia within the present SFRY.

The Slovene Assembly informs the Assembly of the SFRY that with this resolution the division of the SFRY into two or more autonomous and independent states begins. The republics will agree which present functions of the federation will still be implemented jointly to a minimum extent during the process of division. [applause]

Seeking Independence by Negotiation

LD2002200991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1743 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—We are proposing that the procedure should begin at once for the negotiated separation [razdruzivanje] of the present-day SFRY. This is the condition for Slovenia's independence process, and hence also for our sovereign and autonomous decisionmaking on possible integration into a community with other Yugoslav republics as sovereign states. This was stated in his introductory speech at a joint session of all three chambers of the [Slovene] Assembly by Sloveve President Milan Kucan.

The proposal for the negotiated separation and the proposal on the legal heritage of the present SFRY, Kucan assessed, are based on the stance that this republic is becoming an independent state by a process of separation [razdruzivanje], and not by secession [otcepljenje] from the present SFRY. The new state, the Republic of Slovenia has, regarding its legal heritage the status of equal inheritor of the separated present-day SFRY, Kucan said. He proposed that the SFRY should separate with the agreement of the republics into two or more sovereign and independent states. The Republic will carry out the process of separation gradually, by negotiation, and on the principles of international law. In this connection, Kucan noted that the borders of Slovenia with Hungary, Austria, Italy, and Croatia remain unchanged.

As Kucan proposed, the SFRY Assembly should be informed that the Slovene Assembly is beginning the procedure for the separation of the SFRY into two or more autonomous and independent states, and thereby the cessation of the existence of the present state of the SFRY.

Considering Yugoslav reality, Kucan assesses, it should be expected that this process may be very contradictory, conflict- ridden, and protracted. Nevertheless, Kucan said, we are advocating that this procedure should be carried out in such a manner that the legitimate rights of the republics and present joint institutions are not damaged. This means that it will be necessary to hold a series of negotiations on regulating the position, obligations, and other relations with the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], on taking over the tasks of the National Bank of Yugoslavia and on dividing the archives. According to

Kucan, Slovenia's independence process is unfolding under relatively unfavorable international circumstances. It remains, therefore, for Slovenia to implement its wishes against the background of this reality in a democratic, sensible, argued, and resolute manner, but also in such a way that we are seen as desirable partners, Kucan said.

Kucan proposed that the Assembly adopt a special conclusion to entrust the mandate for the continuation of negotiations to the highest entities of the Slovene Government and to formally appoint their presidents as a negotiating delegation. At the same time he proposed that the Republican Executive Council draw up as soon as possible, and in accordance with the law on the plebiscite, a strategy for economic independence, defense, national security, and the foreign policy of the Republic of Slovenia.

As Kucan stressed, the statement by Croatia that in the event of the separation of Slovenia it would itself behave in the same manner is very important. It in fact diminishes the attempt to minimize the Slovene decision. If the proposal for negotiated separation is not accepted by the other republics, Kucan said that Slovenia will separate without an agreement. Under such circumstances it will adhere to its stance that the SFRY thereby ceases to exist as a state and that Slovenia is in an equal position with all other republics regarding to its legal inheritance.

Noting the talks so far, Kucan said that Slovenia has maintained its stance that a solution should be arrived at in a peaceful, democratic manner, and that any use of force and threat of force, including on the part of the JNA, should be excluded from the talks.

Assembly Adopts Separation Resolution

AU2002194391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Dragoslav Kosaric report from Ljubljana on the Slovene Assembly resolution for the country's consentaneous dissolution of Yugoslavia; date not given]

Before the voting, the deputies were addressed by Slovene President Milan Kucan and SFRY Presidency member Janez Drnovsek:

[Kosaric] The Slovene Assembly delegates tonight adopted the resolution on the consentaneous dissolution of the SFRY with two abstentions and one vote against. The representatives of national minorities abstained, while independent deputy Colonel Akcentijevic voted against the resolution.

The resolution envisages the creation of two or more sovereign independent states on the present day territory of Yugoslavia. By separating or dissociating one from another, these states would recognize each other in international law. In this way Slovenia wants to attain international status [medjunarodni subjektivitet] and recognition. New states, the resolution points out, would recognize all borders among themselves as inviolable. At the same time, according to this document, they would respect the territorial integrity of each of the newly created states.

The republics would carry out the process of separation gradually, consentaneously, and within a reasonable period of time. All questions of legal succession would be regulated according to the Vienna Convention. Possible disputes would be resolved in a peaceful way and on the basis of international law.

According to this resolution, the new states would try to establish permanent forms of cooperation and would try to establish relations in a possible confederal Yugoslavia, or the economic community.

Slovenia is created as an autonomous and independent state. State borders are the present international borders of Yugoslavia with Italy, Austria, and Hungary, as well as the republican border with Croatia.

The Slovene Assembly informs the Federal Assembly that this resolution marks the beginning of the SFRY's dissolution into two or more independent states, the resolution points out among other things.

This virtually means that Slovenia is definitely leaving the Yugoslav federation. During the discussion, all parties supported the resolution. There were no additional proposals or amendments. Only Colonel Akcentijevic warned about a great risk with which this republic is entering talks on the future setup of Yugoslavia. He warned that at the plebiscite the citizens of Slovenia did not vote for leaving Yugoslavia but for an autonomous Slovenia. The decision to leave the federation cannot be made by political leaderships but people in a referendum, Akcentijevic said.

One thing is certain, the resolution will affect the course of Sarajevo negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia.

Deputies Approve Sovereignty

LD2002165691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—During separate sessions, the deputies of all three chambers of the Slovene Assembly approved an amendment to the republican constitution that restores Slovene sovereignty rights from the federation to the republic. This amendment signifies that the republic has moved further away from the federal legal system. On the basis of this amendment, the Slovene Assembly can legislate to settle all the relations in which the citizens of Slovenia share an interest, and their organizations and communities. Relations with other states and international organizations will be settled in keeping with international agreements concluded by Yugoslavia.

The other constitutional amendment that was designed to "eradicate" the star on the Slovene republican flag failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority.

Slovene Socialist Party on Separation, Secession

AU2002133791 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 91 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Signing An Agreement with Themselves"]

[Text] Ljubljana—To the members of the Socialist Party of Slovenia, the Slovene Assembly resolution on the proposal about the consentaneous separation of this republic from the SFRY represents the signing of an agreement "with themselves". The document does not acknowledge the stands of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia and their view that if Slovenia departs, the remainder could no longer be considered Yugoslavia.

The resolution quotes the Vienna Convention, which, as Darja Lavtizar-Bebler said at the party presidium session, Yugoslavia did not ratify. According to Dr. Vojko Bucar, the Vienna Convention is only binding on the state that is seceding and the country that remains, but in no way binding on a third state.

Dr. Bucar says that the document on separation looks more like the document on "secession". Judging by his words, the legal successor in this case would be the state of Yugoslavia. The difference between separation and secession, Dr. Bucar pointed out, is that in secession, the legal successor is the country that remains, while in case of separation property and everything else is to be divided.

If we talk about separation then, in Dr. Bucar's opinion, Yugoslavia would no longer exist, but if we talk about secession, no state in its right mind would agree to negotiations on diplomacy, archives [arhiva], property, and other issues.

At the presidium session they presented the "Memorandum on Discussion About Demilitarization of Slovenia," which will be forwarded to the Slovene Presidency, the republican assembly, and to the leaderships of political parties.

Slovenia Seeks End to Antimilitary Campaign

LD1902055991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2136 GMT 18 Feb 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Feb (TANJUG)—The Slovene Presidency today called on the Movement for Peace and Nonviolence to end its drive for callup papers to be handed back and the collection of signatures in support of "a collective statement" of refusal to participate in military activities.

At today's session, the Presidency, as stated, considering the situation brought about by the activities of the mentioned movement. It was concluded that they could lead to a mass refusal to comply with defense duties, which in turn could have negative repercussion for the defense readiness of the Slovene republic. It was emphasized that the activities contradicted constitutionally set rights and duties of Slovene citizens in the defense field, that they had no foundations in the existing regulations, and were contravening the law on military conscription.

True, the Slovene constitutional amendmends envisage that conscripts have a right to sign "a contract" on military service. The contract, however, can only affect the manner in which the military service is carried out, including a possibility of civilian service. But, this could be implemented only when appropriate legal regulations concerning the manner in which this particular right could be exercised is adopted.

The statement from the session of the Slovene Presidency further says that the Presidency once more lent its support to peaceful orientation of the Slovene republic, but at the same time it noted that the handing back of callup papers could not contribute to the creation of conditions necessary for this orientation to come to life.

Slovenia Cuts Contribution to Federal Budget

AU1902094991 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 91 p 3

[S. Sicarov report: "Taxes Fill the Republican Treasury"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana—This year Slovenia will pay only 4.6 billion dinars into the federal budget, as its contribution for the minimal level of functioning of the federation. From this amount 2.9 billion dinars will go for the financing of the Army and 1.7 billion dinars for financing the federal administration. This is in accordance with an earlier decision, whereby all revenue from turnover tax and customs duties, which has so far gone to the federation, will be transferred to the republican treasury. As Slovenia originally owed over 16 billion dinars to the federal budget, the difference of around 12 billion dinars will be used by the republic for consolidating banks, covering foreign exchange losses, the customs service, regular army training (for which 2.6 billion dinars is envisaged), the control of foreign currency accounts, and so on. Basically, the money will be used for all those functions that will be transferred from the federal to the republican entities.

This is envisaged in the draft republican budget for this year, which, after six revisions, was adopted at the session of the Slovene government yesterday. [passage omitted]

Croatian Assembly: Our Law Above Federal Law

LD2102105491 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 21 Feb 91

[Text] The federal legal order no longer taxes precedence over the Croatian constitutional and legal order. This is the essence of an amendment to the constitutional law on the enforcement of the Croatian constitution. The

amendment was adopted by Croatian deputies at the 12th joint session of all chambers of the Croatian Assembly.

Federal bodies are not empowered to declare a state of emergency, to introduce emergency measures, or to use arms in the Republic of Croatia without the approval of the Croatian Assembly or the Republican president.

The Croatian Government will decide which federal laws will not be enforced in the Croatian Republic.

An amendment to the law on the Croatian Government, adopted today, grants immunity to the government president, vice presidents, other government members, and Croatian Assembly deputies. The Croatian Government's 1 February decision on responsibility, that is, immunity of the president, vice president, ministers, and other members of the Croatian Government, has been ratified.

The 12th joint session of all chambers of the Croatian Assembly ended this morning.

Raskovic: 'No Integral Croatia Without Knin'

LD2002095291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2352 GMT 19 Feb 91

[Text] Knin, Feburary 19 (TANJUG)—The Slovenes can leave Yugoslavia but the Serbs in the Republic of Croatia do not want to live in an independent Croatia, Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, which rallies Serbs in that Yugoslav republic, said on Tuesday.

Speaking at a party meeting in Knin - the heart of the discontent of the Serbian population in Croatia with the policy pursued by the republican authorities - Raskovic noted that the situation was not easy for the Croatian leadership as "there can be no integral Croatia without Knin."

Raskovic warned that "Catholics in Croatia are preparing a massacre of St. Bartholomew." He pointed out, however, that the Serbs would defend their honour.

Raskovic admitted that there were indications of sectarianism inside the Serbian Democratic Party and strongly condemned yesterday's move by Knin radio, his party's propaganda centre, for denying him a live interview.

Raskovic described this as a "Bolshevik act," adding that nothing similar had ever happened to him on Croatian television, where he had directly attacked and called over [as received] the republican leadership.

Interior Ministry Demands Report on Arms Imports

AU2002113191 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 91 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Croatia Also Imported Arms From Austria and Panama"]

[Text] On 7 July 1990 the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs [SSUP] informed the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia [MUP] that the ship owned by the Danube Lloyd-Sisak company was smuggling light infantry weapons from Austria. These weapons were then reloaded onto trucks at the port of Crnac, near the Sisak Refinery, during the night and distributed. Despite the demand that all these rumors be checked and despite three further demands to report on the matter, no answer was ever received.

On the basis of Customs' information, the SSUP demanded from the Croatian MUP a detailed report on the illegal import of 5,000 pistols (worth 2,858,000 German marks) bought from the Olympus Trading Inc, Panama, that arrived at Zagreb Airport on 21 November 1990 without import permission.

Serbian Leaders Emphasize Serb Unity

LD1902222891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1934 GMT 19 Feb 91

[Excerpts] Knin, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—The reason for a Knin gathering of Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka—SDS] members and sympathizers was the party anniversary. The real reason, however, was a decision made at a session of the SDS main committee to expel Organizational Secretary, Marko Dobrijevic and Executive Committee President Petar Stikavac. A number of citizens and, in particular, members and leadership of the SDS Knin committee disapprove of the decision. [passage omitted]

Justifying the decision of the SDS main party in front of 3,000 party members and sympathizers, who greeted him noisily with the slogan "Jovo, Jovo", [SDS Chairman] Raskovic stressed: "The SDS is attacked from within, but the Serbian people know how to defend themselves." Emphasizing that the SDS, as he put it, brought together Serbs from both sides of the Una, Sava, and Danube rivers, and that "the Serbian people have their Krajina," he emphasized that "Krajina is not a progeny of Raskovic and Babic, but of the people. Some believe that they are the Serbian nation and the Krajina. No one can replace the Serbian people, not even Slobodan Milosevic."

Raskovic said: "Catholics in Croatia are preparing a Bartholomew's night." Paying "a tribute to the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and the state presidency," he added that "we ourselves can and will defend our honor best." Immediately some demanded arms. "You do not have arms," Raskovic replied, "and I told you not to hand them in." He added: "I will not take to a war but to peace."

Talking about the political crisis in Yugoslavia, Raskovic favored "a federation where citizens are sovereign and free," and added: "Slovenes can go, but as far as an independent and autonomous Croatia is concerned," he said, "God help Croats, but they will not be in such a state with us. It is not easy for the Croatian leadership,"

Raskovic went on, "because without Knin, there could be no single Croatia. If they attack, we shall defend ourselves." Raskovic, said asking the JNA "to arm the Serbian people as its reserve force, because we are all JNA members, its best and largest flank."

Benkovac Municipal Assembly President Zdravko Zecevic spoke at the meeting stressing that "decisions of the SDS leadership made in the town of Lapac are legal and democratic."

Learning that Vojislav Seselj [leader of the Serbian Chetnik Movement] is in Knin, a small, vociferous and bellicose group demanded that he also address the meeting. Greeted with tumultuous applause, Seselj said that he is on a private visit to Knin, but he could not miss the opportunity to say that it is necessary "for all Serbs to be united, the end that only the SDS is trying to realize in this area." In his well-known style as leader of the Chetnik Movement, he told them that "you are the defense line of Serbian-hood, and do not allow anyone to divide you."

Serbian Branch of LC-Movement Founded

LD2002205491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1049 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—The Repubican Committee for Serbia of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia [Savez Komunista-Pokret za Jugoslaviju] has been set up in Belgrade. Chairmen of 21 regional committees—the number of the committees so far formed in the republic—are members. Vladimir Djuric has been elected chairman and Jovo Blazanovic secretary.

During its first session the committee discussed the results from setting up the LC-Movement for Yugoslavia and also the preparations for the forthcoming elections.

Constitutional Court: Kosovo Independence Invalid

LD2002184191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—As we reported today, during Yugoslavia's Constitutional Court session yesterday a decision was passed quashing the constitutional declaration on Kosovo as an independent and equal unit within the framework of the Yugoslav federation (or confederation). The decision was passed by a majority vote with one dissenting view.

The Kosovo declaration was passed by a group of Albanian delegates at the beginning of July 1990 on the concourse outside the provincial assembly building. It immediately preceded the Serbian Assembly decision to take over the functions of the Kosovo Assembly.

Bosnia Serbs Oppose Sovereignty Declaration

LD2002165291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1516 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 20 (TANJUG)—The council of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina today stated that the proposed declaration of Bosnia-Herzegovina's sovereignty and indivisibility was unacceptable to the Serbs living in that republic for legal and political reasons.

The declaration has been submitted to the republican assembly by the Party of Democratic Action, which rallies Muslims and is the strongest of the three parties which make up the ruling coalition in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The two other members of the coalition are the Serbian Democratic Party and the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In a statement sent to TANJUG, the council of the Serbian Democratic Party sets out that the proposed declaration runs counter to the federal and the republican constitutions, because it deals with matters which can be regulated only by a constitution.

"The sovereignty and integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina are possible strictly within a federal Yugoslavia," the statement says, and stresses that the proposed declaration negates the right of the Serbian nation to live in a single state and reduces the Serbian nation to a national minority.

The council of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina sets out in the statement that the proposed declaration has introduced "extreme uneasiness in the anyway restive region of Bosnia-Herzegovina and made red-hot the existing nationality-based divisions, of which the authors (of the declaration) must be aware."

Vojvodina Assembly Discusses Provincial Statute

AU1902150991 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 91 p 3

[Text] At the beginning of yesterday's joint session all three chambers of the Vojvodina Assembly adopted a conclusion that gives full support to the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense for their measures and activities to prevent the formation of the illegal paramilitary armed units. Because of their existence and the intended terrorist actions, they represent a direct threat of armed unrest and interethnic conflicts on a large scale with unforeseeable consequences for citizens' security.

The draft statute of Vojvodina, which is supposed to replace the present Vojvodina Constitution, was the only item discussed at the joint session. Vojvodina Assembly Vice President Damjan Radenkovic stressed that the statute must creatively express the autonomous province's constitutional position as that of territorial

autonomy and also said that the 50 points of the draft document contain everything the highest general act of Vojvodina should.

Proceeding from the regulations of the Serbian Constitution, the Vojvodina statute envisages that in the future the province should have an assembly, an executive council, and administrative entities. As proposed, the unicameral Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina would have 120 or 105 deputies and would adopt a plan of development in line with the republican plan of development, as well as the budget. The assembly would also organize provincial organizations, entities, and services, and have the right to propose laws in the National Assembly of Serbia.

Although the public discussion on the statute is only just about to start, at yesterday's session some delegates expressed their doubts and proposals in connection with the compilation of the statute. Sandor Egeresi stated that despite everything he still does not understand what territorial autonomy and its essence are. He also thought that the draft statute does not sufficiently accentuate all the province's particularities. Dusica Bugarski nevertheless thought that 60 deputies should suffice for the future provincial Assembly. Nikola Filipovic stressed that in the future the provincial services will not be able to pass laws, but they will be able to pass very important executive regulations in accordance with the republican constitution. Borislav Novakovic said that it should be made possible for the province's particularities to be developed in full, but to an extent that falls short of undermining Serbian interests.

In the end, the draft statute was adopted in its proposed form, with the acknowledgment that all comments will be considered when its contents are finally "tailored". Multiparty elections for the Vojvodina Assembly will be held only after the adoption of the statute.

Industrial Production Drop Largest in 40 Years

LD2002100191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0715 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 20 (TANJUG)—In January of this year, Yugoslavia recorded an 18.2 percent drop in production as against January 1990 and 16.6 percent as against last year's average monthly production rate, the federal government informs.

This is the biggest drop in industrial production in Yugoslavia since 1951. Production has been recording a two-digit drop in the past nine months (well over 10 percent), which has brought in its wake loss of earnings, lower employment, insolvency and other ills.

In the conditions of decreasing production, a flaring up of inflation and a further drop in employment are to be expected, as Yugoslavia's lame ducks employ 2.2 million people.

The best way to heal industrial production would be to inject some fresh money. This is hard to come by abroad, as credit activity has come to a standstill due to the Gulf war. This situation has worst hit the developing countries that are trying to introduce reforms, among which Yugoslavia.

The outcome of talks with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), scheduled for March, on a one billion dollar stand-by arrangement for this year will depend on the outcome of the political crisis in Yugoslavia. The stand-by credit, in its turn, will determine whether or not Yugoslavia will get an additional 3.5 billion dollars in credits from other international financial institutions and in rescheduling of the existing loans.

Four New Political Parties Registered

LD2002223191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—Four more parties have recently been registered with the Federal Secretariat for Justice on the basis of the federal law allowing citizens to establish political and social organizations and associations on the territory of the SFRY.

The four parties are: the Belgrade-based Alliance and Socialist Parties of Yugoslavia [Savez Socijalistickih Partija Jugoslavije] formerly Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, and three parties previously registered in republics: the Knin-based Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka] the Zagreb-based Croatian Peasant's Party [Hrvatska Seljacka Stranka], and the Sarajevo-based Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije]

So far 37 parties have been registered with the Federal Secretariat for Justice.

New Albanian Language Paper Published

LD2002213391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1225 GMT 20 Feb 91

[Summary] Pristina, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—The 11 newspapers and magazines in the Albanian language, which in recent months have been printed periodically in Pristina, Zagreb, and Ljubljana, were joined today by BASHKIMI [UNITY], which went on sale in Pristina today. Its chief and executive editor is Haljit Krasnichi. BASHKIMI is published in Zagreb, and printed by the Pristina Rilindja.